THE

PATRIOT.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE,

ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

IN BRITAIN AND IN FRANCE.

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT,

AND DISCUSSIONS OF THE

PRINCIPLES

ADVANCED IN THE WRITINGS OF

T. PAINE.

——————— grave ne redirat
Seculum Pyrrhæ nova monstra questæ.

HOR.

BY THOMAS HARDY, D. D.

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THE

PATRIOT.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

YOUR attention has of late been called off from the peaceful engagements of domeſtic induſtry, to diſcuſſions on the great ſubjects of government and legiſlation. Theſe ſubjects, which involve the intereſts of millions, have been treated by philoſophers of different ages, as matters of high ſpeculation, which are to be approached with all the caution of wiſdom and experience. Within theſe two years, however, it has been diſcovered, that this was a miſtake, and that the ſcience of government, and the art of making conſtitutions, are level to all capacities. Nay, we are informed, that the people of this country have been under miſtakes ſtill more unaccountable. Our fathers believed, and we imagined and boaſted, that we were free and happy, that we enjoyed privileges which diſtinguiſhed Britons among the nations of Europe, that we poſſeſſed a conſtitution, which, combining the benefits of the various ſimple forms of government, avoided the peculiar inconveniencies of the monarchical, the ariſtocratical, and the democratical plans. We concluded that to this conſtitution we owed the

greatneſs to which we have riſen among the nations, and the inherent ſtrength which has enabled us to withſtand ſuch ſhocks, as no other country could have ſurvived, and to extend our influence to the extremities of the globe. It is only four years ſince this whole nation obſerved a great day of jubilee, and joined in thankſgiving to God, for thoſe diſtinguiſhed bleſſings which we and our fathers had for one hundred years enjoyed, from the period of the Revolution. But to our great ſurpriſe and mortification, we are now told that we have been miſtaken all along; that we are, and always have been, miſerable and oppreſſed, though this was kept a ſecret; that we have no privileges (excepting, perhaps, the privilege of reviling our rulers, and of promoting ſedition); that there is no ſuch thing in Britain as a conſtitution at all,---that the Revolution in 1688, was no better than a farce,---that the men who conducted that tranſaction were uſurpers, and that we have yet to begin the whole work of framing a government for the people of this Iſland.

Theſe moſt unexpected articles of intelligence have been brought to this country by Thomas Paine, a ſubject, as he ſays, of the American States, who owns his inveterate hoſtility, to Britain during her war with France, Spain, Holland, and America, and his intention to have come over to London at that period, to ſow diſſention in the country, by anonymous pamphlets, had he not been diverted from his purpoſe by his apprehenſion of the gallows †. He has lately ventured, when this country was not at war, to publiſh and to circulate his pamphlets as an agent of France. It might ſeem a matter of ſurpriſe that an alien ſhould take ſo much trouble to convince us of our miſtakes, and of our miſery. His country is 3000 miles off, he is not to ſhare either in our good or our evil: we might have ſuſpected from this inſtance that the age of chivalry was not yet paſt, but the cloven foot appears in his preface, and we perceive that there was no diſintereſted knight errantry in the caſe. He owns that at Paris

† Rights of Man, p. 11, chap. 5. note.

Paris he engaged to ſome of the friends of the Revolution in France, to write his book; to mention the terms of his engagement with the Jacobin leaders, he ſeems to have conſidered as not eſſential to the ſervice. The ſum which he received for his pains is reported to be 30,000 livres, or 1250l. Sterling. A ſeat in the Convention, which yields him 15s. a day, is a proof that he has fulfilled his engagement to the ſatisfaction of his employers.

Permit me, my countrymen. to addreſs you on the topics which have now been brought under general diſcuſſion, and to ſtate without reſerve, thoſe ſentiments which are the reſult of ſome inquiry into the principles of government, and which are ſuggeſted with peculiar force, by an attachment to that conſtitution, which every Briton who knows it, will wiſh to preſerve as the moſt precious inheritance of his children.

The Revolution of France, was, from its commencement, a ſubject of intereſting attention to the inhabitants of Britain. As the ſons of freedom, we felt a generous ſatisfaction in the ſucceſs of the patriots, who took their ſtand on the ground of reſiſtance, and who firſt ventured to utter in the land of ſlavery, theſe terms of Britiſh origin, *the Rights of Man, and a Conſtitution*. We forgot the hoſtility which our enemy had ſhewn to us for ages; we waved the recollection of her unprovoked interference in the American war; we ſaw a great people reclaiming the inheritance of men, and boldly aſpiring to be free. We knew the value of a bleſſing which we had long poſſeſſed in its fulneſs and perfection; a bleſſing which is not diminiſhed, but ſecured by communication to others. We looked forward, therefore, with joyful anticipation to the time when the monarchy of France ſhould be reſtricted by permanent limitations, and when the ſlave finally reſcued from oppreſſion, ſhould be able to ſay to an Engliſhman, "I am now your brother." We knew, however, the magnitude of the work which the patriots of France had undertaken. Our fathers, when they bequeathed to us the inheritance, charging us before

fore God and men to preſerve it unaltered, and to tranſmit it ſafely to our children, told us at the ſame time the price which the purchaſe had coſt them; and ſhewed us *that for a Nation to be free it is* NOT *ſufficient that ſhe wills it.*

The liberties of Britain were the hard earned fruits of many a lengthened, eventful and bloody conteſt. After the overthrow of Charles, the fate of this iſland hung in peril for an age. The demons of faction and of civil diſcord ſhed their influence over the land, and blaſted the hopes of the people. The ſceptre was broken, and a bloody ſword appeared in its place. The houſe of Peers was diſſolved, and a board of Major Generals in arms became the organ of judicature and legiſlation. The Houſe of Commons was purged, by turning out every honeſt man who in public or private had expreſſed a ſentiment of oppoſition; and when it was found that even this expedient had not ſecured unanimity or peaceable ſubmiſſion, in an aſſembly of men who were divided into civil parties and religious factions; when the Patriot oppoſed the Leveller, and when Epiſcopals, Preſbyterians, and Independents, became unmanageable in their ſtrife, the repreſentative branch of the Legiſlature was wholly ejected, and inſtead of a Conſtitution, the hypocrite Cromwell, ſurrounded by his Janiſſaries, remained Dictator, Lawgiver, and Judge of the Britiſh nation.

The period of the laſt century in which the republic ſtood, was the period of the extinction of liberty. The adminiſtration of government was vigorous indeed, like that of Muley Iſhmael or Tippoo Saib. The ſpies and agents of the Protector were every where, and the executioners followed in their train. The nation found, to their ſorrow, that inſtead of gaining new privileges under the Republic, they had loſt the few which the family of Stuart had reſpected; that in their eagerneſs to obtain a ſudden relief, they had incurred hopeleſs deſtruction; and that, inſtead of the free conſtitution, and the reign of the ſaints, which their leaders had promiſed, they had obtained

tained a Dey and a Divan, modelled after the pattern of the republic of Algiers.

The ſpirit of the nation, however, was not to be at once reduced to the ſtandard of implicit and eternal ſubmiſſion. The boſoms of Britons ſwelled in ſecret with indignation and grief. They knew that the ſyſtem of the times did not admit of amendment; for the temper of democratic leaders will in no caſe brook an open diſcuſſion of their meaſures. Inſtant and fatal vengeance would have been the recompenſe of an attempt even to expoſtulate with this deſcription of men. One alternative only remained,----to leave Britain a perpetual prey to the anarchy of factions, varied only by the deſpotiſm of popular leaders, as they might riſe in ſucceſſion; or, to undo the whole work, to relinquiſh even the advantages which the patriots in the long parliament had obtained, before their final quarrel with Charles: to bring back the exiled family with all their faults unchecked, and to ſubmit to arbitrary power in an uniform and peaceful courſe, inſtead of the blind violence of anarchy, and the deſpotiſm of upſtart ruffians, which fleſh and blood could bear no longer. In this ſituation, our forefathers, with the whole caſe before them, aware of the neceſſity which reduced them to the choice of two evils, both of which they had experimentally known, and had balanced in their thoughts in ſilence, and in the bitterneſs of their ſouls, aroſe, and with unanimous voice recalled the Houſe of Stuart. Come, ſaid they, to Charles II. and ſave us from this monſter, a Republic: Your fathers whipped us with rods, but it hath tormented us with ſcorpions!

Our anceſtors, in determining upon the Reſtoration, were ſenſible of the difficulties in their ſituation. They were not indifferent to the intereſts of poſterity; they were not ignorant of the hazards to which they ſhould be expoſed from the demons of *divine right*, *paſſive obedience*, *and non-reſiſtance*, which had tranſmigrated from father to ſon, through the whole dynaſty of Stuart; but to effect a retreat from Hell, even back into Purgatory, was wiſe and able generalſhip in their ſituation,

ſituation. They flattered themſelves, in the caſe of Charles II. that his experience of adverſity, and the reflections which might have been familiarized to his mind in his years of exile, on the cauſes of his father's ruin, might have prepared him to reſpect the franchiſes of Britons, and liberty founded upon law. But whatever might befal them and theirs in this reſpect, they had made up their minds, that to abide the utmoſt hazard was their duty and their intereſt; that they had ſomething to gain, and nothing to loſe by the Reſtoration.

The Reſtoration was accordingly effected with a good grace. Thinking men concealed their apprehenſions of the future, and joined in the ſhouts and applauſes of the multitude. The 29th of May was ordered to be obſerved as a holiday for ever, becauſe the people of England had recovered a government better than thoſe of France, Spain, or Portugal; in which the people might be oppreſſed within ſome known bounds, and their perſons and property guarded to a certain extent, and ſecured from violence in every quarter, excepting that which might iſſue from the throne; inſtead of remaining longer expoſed to the buffetings of faction, and to the dagger of every villain who might mount on the ſhoulders of the mob, and bear deſtruction into all the walks of life. Thus our anceſtors, yet bleeding from the wounds which they had received under a democracy and democratical uſurpers, bore an ardent proteſt, in their extremity, againſt republican miſrule, by ſubmitting to a ſyſtem of which they knew the evils, rather than remain in that chaos, of which the horrors baffled alike deſcription and calculation.

The beſt Patriots in the nation concurred in the meaſure which reſtored Charles, without terms or limitations. Their principles were not altered; but the laſt neceſſity required, that the people of Britain ſhould, at any price, be redeemed from a republican ſlavery. They hoped, perhaps, that in the courſe of events, limitations might gradually be eſtabliſhed, by which individual liberty might be ſanctioned, conſiſtently with

that

that public order, which every man in the nation was now convinced depended on the ſtability of the throne. Charles II. was in appearance a man of gaiety and pleaſure; but at bottom he was a knave and a bigot. The ſcope of his politics was, to give a faſhion to diſſipation, to throw around himſelf and his court the veil of pleaſantry, that, under this cover, he might take meaſures to break the influence of the patriots, to entail an uncontrouled ſway, and to eſtabliſh Popery in Britain. His purpoſes gradually appeared, and his perſecuting arm was felt in various quarters of the iſland. His reign was juſtly conſidered as the moſt dangerous period to the principles of liberty which had ever been known in Britain; and a ſucceſſor of the ſame ſtamp might have extinguiſhed the cauſe for ever. Happily for the nation, his brother James, who next ſucceeded to the throne, was weak and imprudent; and happily for the nation, alſo, he was a deſperate bigot in favour of Popery. He directly aſſerted his divine right to arbitrary power, and to compel his ſubjects to think and to worſhip God in his way, and in no other. He oppreſſed his Proteſtant ſubjects in England, and perſecuted the Preſbyterians in Scotland, with penalties, confiſcations, fire and ſword. The whole weight of Proteſtantiſm was thus attached to the principles of civil liberty. The nation was rouſed by actual and intolerable oppreſſion. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and commons, united in the general cauſe of the kingdom. They invited an auxiliary force from Holland, under the Prince of Orange, and upon ſubſtantiated proofs that James had broken the original compact between King and People, and had infringed the fundamental laws of the realm, it was voted by both Houſes of Parliament, that he had abdicated the government, or, as the Scotch Parliament more clearly expreſſed it, had forfeited the Crown, and that the throne was now vacant.

The object of this recapitulation of Engliſh hiſtory, my countrymen, is to call your attention to the ſteps which your fathers took in this ſecond great exigence

of ſtate. The Prince of Orange kept at a diſtance from the Houſes of Parliament, during their deliberations on the ſtate of the nation, and on the arrangements to be made for the future happineſs of Britain. The diſcuſſions laſted for many weeks; the procedure was regular and dignified; never was a great aſſembly engaged in ſo important a concern. It was not enough to have got quit of James; it was neceſſary to eradicate the principle which had made him and his anceſtors ſcourges to this nation. But was there a ſingle member of Parliament who propoſed that the throne ſhould *remain* vacant, or that the nation ſhould attempt to go on without a monarchy and a hereditary ſettlement in time coming? Such a propoſition would have been treated with ſcorn by the whole aſſembly. Was there even a pamphleteer of the times who would hint this to the public? Or a man in a club or a company who would hazard as a ſpeculation to revert to a republic? He would have been hooted by his neighbours, and conſidered as an idiot. The remembrance of the paſt was too freſh in their memories; it was but twenty-eight years ſince they had ſeen the republic buried, and the execrations of a whole people poured upon its grave; even its ghoſt at midnight durſt no more meet the frown of an Engliſhman.

The Parliament framed the bill of rights; not the *rights of man* as a ſolitary independent ſavage; but the rights of Engliſhmen, in the ſocial compact, and in civilized life; who knew that ſubordination was eſſential to freedom. They eſtabliſhed the limitations under which the ſceptre ſhould be ſwayed. They ſecured the privileges of the two Houſes of Legiſlature, and the franchiſes of the country for ever; and fixing the hereditary ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, they completed their work, by making the Crown the key ſtone of the arch of the conſtitution.

It was to this *conſtitution*, matured in ſome of its branches by the wiſdom of ages, and perfected by the Revolution ſettlement, in the legal limitations of the monarchical branch, that our anceſtors *ſubmitted themſelves and their poſterities for ever*. They were not aware

ware of the reproaches which Thomas Paine would throw upon them for this. If, as he ſays, he is a ſubject of America, he has neither part nor lot in this matter, which lies between our fathers and us. But for us, we ſay that they then gave us their bleſſing in the fear of God; and that we have accepted it? and that while a drop of their blood runs in our veins, no power on earth ſhall bereave us of it. The inheritance is not a temporary or proviſional grant; it is to us and ours for ever. It is not a thing to be thrown aſide in a whim; till ten millions of people ſhall ſend their deputies to agree, or rather to quarrel about what government we ſhall have next. When our anceſtors carried to the Prince of Orange the bill of rights in one hand, and the crown in the other, they declared the permanency of the tranſaction; ſubmitting themſelves and their poſterity for ever, to regular government, to ſocial order, to the reign of the laws, to hereditary limited monarchy, and the Britiſh conſtitution. Renouncing no privilege; but renouncing for themſelves and for us, all right which either the many or the few might ever claim, to bring us again under the wrath and curſe, whether of republican anarchy, or of arbitrary power. But ſay our modern clubs, on the authority of Thomas Paine, What right had our anceſtors to bind us? Are we not always free to chooſe what government we pleaſe? They might ſpeak for themſelves, but they are all dead, and it is a void obligation which they attempted to entail on another race. Gentlemen, your fathers, many of whom are dead, preſumed to do no more than this, and ſpoke alſo for you in another caſe: They preſented you before God in your infancy; they renounced for you the devil, the world, and the fleſh: They took you engaged in baptiſm to ſerve God, and to believe in Chriſt, and to obey the laws of religion; did they injure you by this aſſumption of power over your choice? Have you then a right to become heathens or infidels as you think fit? So ſay the French democrates, who have avowedly abandoned both religion and civil government.

The maxim of the clubs, that a whole nation have at all times a right to alter their government as they pleaſe, is a fallacy grounded on a quibble. It is the miſtake of a *power* for a *right*; there may be a *power* to do *wrong*, but a *right* to do *wrong* is a contradiction. A whole nation is at any time able to deſtroy its government, as a man has a power to ſet fire to his family manſion. But has any man or ſet of men a right to do every thing which they are able to do, whether good or bad? Had the French mob a right to maſſacre the Swiſs guards? Have the ſoldiers of Anſelm a right to plunder, to ſtab, and to raviſh in the territory of Nice? A right is a moral term, reſtricted in its meaning to things which are equitable and good. Our anceſtors had a right to depoſe James, becauſe he was a tyrant on principle, and laid this very claim to a right to do whatever he pleaſed. And they had a right to frame the Revolution ſettlement, in that glory and perfection in which they effected it, becauſe it was a great and a good work; and they declared this tranſaction as binding on poſterity, not merely becauſe it was a deed of their making, for they could not have bound us to our harm; but becauſe it was a treaſure, and an inheritance of ineſtimable value, which they had obtained for us by their public virtues, and their prayers to God; and becauſe our felicity as a nation, and the intereſt of our deſcendents, are in pledge for its faithful preſervation. This obligation which they recogniſed, was involved in the juſtice and utility of the meaſure, and in the ſecurity of liberty and property, and of the rights of Britons, which it bore in its boſom to ſucceeding generations.

Here again Thomas Paine, an emigrant from America, where his principles were reckoned dangerous to the conſtituted authorities, comes forward with a freſh charge againſt the Revolution Parliament. They were quite wrong, ſays he, and did not underſtand their duty. They ought to have called a convention of delegates elected by the whole people, to form a conſtitution. Now I refer to every man of ſenſe the following queſtions on this point. Would not a meaſure

ſure like this have been an aſſumption of power by that Parliament, infinitely greater than framing the bill of rights, eſtabliſhing the limitations of the Crown, and fixing the Proteſtant ſucceſſion? Was not ſuch a convention of delegates ſo choſen, a thing unknown in the conſtitution, in the law, and in the practice of this country? Had the Parliament a right to extinguiſh the conſtitution, becauſe the throne was vacant? To find that there was no exiſting authority in Britain, and with the ſame breath to order by their own authority a poll election to be made by ten millions of people, and to define the mode in which this ſhould be conducted? If they were competent to all this, they were competent to have ſunk the ſtate under Turkiſh deſpotiſm, or had they been wicked enough to have toſſed it in the convulſions of French anarchy: Had they attempted a wild project like this, how could they have looked their conſtituents in the face? We confided in you, the people would have ſaid, in your wiſdom and your virtue: We looked up to you as the depoſitaries of the national power; we truſted that you would have guarded our political intereſts, and would not have cut down the conſtitution, becauſe a branch had rotted and had dropped off. You have left us and ours to the claſhing counſels of fools and demagogues; to the arrogance of bullies, let looſe from the bonds of ſubordination: You have expoſed a whole people, as if we had been a vaſt ſhipwrecked crew, caſt upon this iſland, to chooſe our rulers, in circumſtances in which every man would be a ſovereign, and none conſent to obey.

The approbation of the people at large was the laſt ſanction of the Revolution ſettlement. Their repreſentatives, and the whole conſtituted authorities in Great Britain, have, for above an hundred years, given the real ratification to the terms which declared its permanency. The nation adhering to this ſettlement has cruſhed two rebellions by which it has been aſſailed; and the majority of all ranks authoriſing even to this hour, by an uninterrupted conſent, that great tranſaction, which has ſecured the proſperity of this

country

country, homologate the deed, and are ſtill ready to guard the charter, and to protect it againſt the unhallowed touch, either of licentiouſneſs or of deſpotiſm.

Mr. John Adams, Vice-Preſident of the American States, in his letters of remonſtrance againſt the principles of Paine, which he conſiders as hoſtile to the American government, as well as to every free and regular conſtitution, has happily expreſſed the dictates of good ſenſe on the points immediately before us. "I have aſſumed as a principle," ſays he, "that the "Engliſh nation, having delegated all their collective "power, have no right, in their original character, to "change their form of government, unleſs it has be-"come abſolutely inadequate to the purpoſes for "which it was inſtituted. The people themſelves "muſt, from the neceſſity of the caſe, be the judges "of this fact; but if, in forming this judgment, and "acting in purſuance of it, they proceed from faction, "and not from principle, if they diſſolve their com-"pact from an idea that 'they have a right to do "whatever they chooſe,' and break the bands of ſo-"ciety becauſe ſuch is their pleaſure, they may in-"deed go through the operation by the plenitude of "their irreſiſtible power, but the nation will meet with "ample puniſhment in their own miſery, and the "leaders who delude them, in the deteſtation of their "own poſterity. It is not by adopting the malignity "of a political ſatyriſt, by converting the ſallies of "wit into the maxims of truth and juſtice, or by "magnifying trivial imperfections into capital crimes, "that a nation will be juſtified in reſorting to its ori-"ginal ſtrength, to contend againſt its delegated "power. It is not a mechanical horror againſt the "name of a king, or of ariſtocracy, nor a phyſical an-"tipathy to the ſound of an extravagant title, or to "the ſight of an innocent ribbon, that can authoriſe "a people to lay violent hands upon the conſtitution, "which protects their rights, and guards their liber-"ties. They muſt feel an actual deprivation of their "equal rights, and ſee an actual impoſſibility for their "reſtoration in any other manner, before they can

"have

" have a right to lay their hands on their ſwords, and " appeal to Heaven."

The Engliſh, ſays Mr. Paine, boaſt of their conſtitution; but when you aſk to ſee it, they have none; it is inviſible; it is a chimera. In America, ſays he, when any queſtion aroſe about the conſtitution, it was uſual for ſome of the company to pull it out of their pockets, and read the clauſe referred to. Mr. Paine, who boaſts of his own experience and eminence in conſtitution-making, conceives a conſtitution to be a pamphlet, and that it can exiſt in no other ſhape. The conſtitution of the American government is indeed delineated in this form. The French Conſtituent Aſſembly made a pamphlet, which they termed the conſtitution; but the ſyſtem which it contained was found to be impracticable, and the pamphlet is now juſt ſo much waſte paper. The New Convention are, it is ſaid, compoſing a ſecond pamphlet with this title, which a few months will, in like manner, deliver up to the paſtry-cooks; for the types of a real conſtitution for France are not yet caſt in the foundery. Was the conſtitution of Athens, or of Rome, contained in a pamphlet? With regard to this country, though the author ſhould pick all our pockets, he will not find the Britiſh conſtitution there; nor will he be able, though he had Barrington's ſkill, to filch it from the ſtrong holds where we have ſecured it. It lies in the hearts of the people of this land, as a ſyſtem of principles; and in its forms, it is regiſtered in the ſtatutes at large, in the journals of Parliament, in the common law, in the deciſions of our courts, in the hiſtory of our country. In theſe venerable archives, it may be traced as it ſprung from our Saxon anceſtors, as it was nurſed by the wiſdom of ages, as it ſurvived the perils to which it was expoſed, from both its republican and deſpotic enemies, till it acquired its ſtrength and glory at the Revolution.

The Revolution, while it ſecured and ſealed the conſtitution of this country, did not place a bar againſt farther improvements; on the contrary, by recogniſing and aſſerting the plenary power of the conſtitutional

tional Legiſlature, inſtead of a government crippled and handcuffed by the tumultuary acts of conventions, for which Paine and his diſciples plead, it cleared the path for gradual and progreſſive improvements, as they might be adopted by poſterity, according to the growing perfection of political ſcience, and the vigorous operation of the principles of the conſtitution itſelf, in the courſe of events.

The competency of the ordinary Legiſlature to every poſſible contingency, is the circumſtance which not only introduces improvements in their proper ſeaſons, but which ſecures, in behalf of the nation, the exerciſe of that wiſdom and caution with which alterations are at all times to be adopted. The Legiſlature of Britain is not expoſed, like the French Aſſembly, to the hazard of headlong innovation in matters of the utmoſt magnitude, where motions affecting the eſſence of government are prepared and decreed in a breath, with clapping of hands inſtead of deliberation; and where 1200 repreſentatives diſfranchiſed themſelves with the brevity of a *huzza*, and deprived the people of the right of re-electing any one of them. The Legiſlature, in a regular government, is naturally ſlow in acceding to change, and receives, with a wholeſome jealouſy, every propoſition which aims at altering the uſual courſe of ſociety in any important branch. The clubs call this obſtinacy; but it is the prudence of experience, and is eſſential to the ſafety of the great ſyſtem. Every propoſition made to a popular aſſembly, comes forward with plauſible arguments; and every projector thinks his own ſcheme ſelf-evident in its juſtice, and demonſtrable in its inſtant expediency. But the intereſts of a great people are not to be ſported with as in a tennis-court, and toſſed by every fool's racket. There is in a certain degree a repugnance to innovation which *ought* to characteriſe eſtabliſhed governments, and which is found, in effect, to operate in every regular community, as well as in the houſes of parliament, until time and enquiry ſhall have rendered the expediency undoubted. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, ſaid the ancient barons, when new projects in

government

government were propoſed to their acceptance. This principle is abſolutely neceſſary to the ſtability of civil order; and therefore a man, in civil truſt, is taught by his very ſituation to feel its influence. At the ſame time, it is equally clear, that every propoſed change of meaſures, or of ſyſtem, is not to be finally rejected merely becauſe it is an innovation; for many of the beſt inſtitutions on earth were once innovations; and when a government is radically vicious and oppreſſive, like that of the Turkiſh empire, or the old government of France, where there is nothing to loſe, and ſomething to gain, there is no imprudence in frankly attempting reforms. But the principle is ſoundly pleaded thus far, that where the public order guarantees, in all eſſential points, the liberty and property of the people, it becomes the duty of the men who are intruſted with the power of the ſtate, to look on innovation with jealouſy, and to proceed in it with caution, where there is much to loſe, and where the advantage is but a problem, as yet untried in practice.

The Britiſh Legiſlature, under the ſpirit of wiſdom and patriotiſm with which it was regenerated at the Revolution, has proceeded by ſure and gradual ſteps in the work of improvement; a work to which it has ſhewn itſelf equal, in which it has been as forward as prudence would admit, availing itſelf, for this end, of every proper combination of circumſtances, and in which it has made many happy advances, without being chargeable with one falſe ſtep, in reſpect of conſtitutional law, during the lapſe of a century.

The firſt conſtitutional improvement after the Revolution ſettlement, and one which emanated from its principles, was the Act of Toleration, 1ſt William and Mary, ſeſſion 2. which proceeded juſt as far in aſcertaining religious freedom, as the times would bear, and no farther. It was the firſt ſtep in a progreſs, and it had great merit, as this form of freedom was new to the law of England. And when the nation ſhall be ripe for the admiſſion of a degree of religious liberty, which even the word *toleration* is inadequate to expreſs, there is reaſon to expect that the Legiſlature

will be as ready as the people can wiſh, to vindicate the ſacred honours of religion.

The act aboliſhing the feudal juriſdictions in Scotland, to which the rebellion 1745 gave the immediate occaſion, was another improvement on the conſtitution. By this act, every power by which the ariſtocracy of the country could injure or oppreſs the people was removed, and the ſubjects, even to the moſt remote parts of the iſland, were brought individually and entirely under the protection of the laws of the land. The principle of gradual and ſure improvement in the Britiſh conſtitution, may be traced in the hiſtory of the law relative to the judges of the country; a point of the utmoſt conſequence to the intereſts of liberty and property. By ancient uſage, the judges had held their offices only during pleaſure. In this ſituation, in cauſes where the miniſtry were ſuppoſed to take any intereſt, and particularly in Crown cauſes, there exiſted a temptation to partiality againſt the ſubject, too great for his ſafety in the courts of law. Thus, under the kings of the Houſe of Stuart, the judges had been frequently found ſervile and corrupt, and had conducted the perſecuting and unjuſt ſchemes of theſe princes, to the reproach of the very name of judicature. In the Revolution ſettlement, there was no occaſion to ſpecify this abuſe, becauſe the ſpirit of that great tranſaction, and the invigorating impulſe which it ſpread through the whole conſtitution, was deſtined to correct this, and all particular wrongs, in the regular courſe of its operation. I give the hiſtory of this improvement in the words of Sir William Blackſtone, Book I. c. 7. "In order to maintain both the dignity and independence of the judges in the ſuperior courts, it is enacted, by ſtatute 13 William III. c. 2. that their commiſſion ſhall be made (not as formerly, *durante bene placito*, but) *quamdiu bene ſe geſſerint*, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but that it may be lawful to remove them on the addreſs of both houſes of parliament. And now, by the noble improvements of that law in the ſtatute of 1 Geo. III. c. 23. enacted at the earneſt recommendation

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" tion of the king himſelf from the the throne, the " judges are continued in their offices during their " good behaviour, notwithſtanding any demiſe of the " Crown (which was formerly held immediately to " vacate their ſeats); and their full ſalaries are abſo- " lutely ſecured to them during the continuance of " their commiſſions; his Majeſty having been pleaſed " to declare, that " he looked upon the independence " and uprightneſs of the judges, as eſſential to the im- " partial adminiſtration of juſtice; as one of the beſt " ſecurities of the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, " and as moſt conducive to the honour of the Crown."

Many other inſtances might be mentioned, in which the conſtitution, both by the weight of deciſions which it has inſpired, and by acts of parliament growing out of its principles, has proceeded in the regular order of improvement. I might ſpecify the abolition of general warrants; the diſqualification of officers of revenue from voting in elections; the effect of the acceptance of an office created before the 1705 to vacate the ſeat of a member of parliament, and to ſend him back to his conſtituents, that they may judge if he is ſtill entitled to their confidence; and the effect of the acceptance of an office created ſince the 1705, not only to vacate the ſeat, but to render the poſſeſſor wholly ineligible to Parliament. I might mention the act of laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, aſcertaining the power of juries in queſtions of libels, and the liberal conſtructions which the uniform train of deciſions has given to the *habeas corpus*. But we all know and feel the ſtate of the country on the whole, that every act affecting the conſtitutional law ſince the Revolution; and, more eſpecially, ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover; and, moſt remarkably, during the reign of King George III. has been in favour of the liberty of the ſubject; that this is the grand channel in which the conſtitution directs its ſalutary influence; and that we do, at this day, poſſeſs more perſonal liberty, and more privileges, by a great deal, than our anceſtors enjoyed in periods nearer to the Revolution. A ſyſtem which contains in itſelf the principle and the means of improvement, will, by gradual progreſs, at-

tain a degree of perfection, infinitely greater than any ſcheme which the wiſeſt men on earth could frame at once; for it ripens by the wiſdom of ſucceſſive ages, availing itſelf of the ſound leſſons of experience.

Thinking men will own that there is yet room for further improvements in Britain; it is true. But it is not true that any *abuſes* or *corruptions* have *crept* into the *conſtitution* ſince the Revolution, though theſe are the words of incantation for the day, and, which, as terms of the black art, cannot, it ſeems, be explained to the multitude, by any mention of the particular facts to which they refer. No ſyſtem framed by men is abſolutely perfect. But we ſee and enjoy a conſtitution by far the moſt favourable to the ſecurity, the freedom, and the comfort of every individual, that ever was known on this globe. We ſee in this conſtitution what no other political ſyſtem ever exhibited, a tendency to its improvement, woven in its ſubſtance, and operating inceſſantly in this direction, with a ſteady and undeviating courſe. And we ſee a legiſlature competent to every object of reform; trained to the work of improvement, by acting upon this ſyſtem; though happily prudent and deliberate, even in the work of removing defects; deaf to the precipitate counſels of every apprentice in politics, and availing themſelves of the operation of time, both to ſmooth over the touches which they give to the building, and to bring forward, in their proper courſe, the ſeaſons and opportunities for improving its accommodation, or adding to its ornaments.

If the mode of conducting elections in boroughs requires to be reviewed; if the qualifications of voters in counties admit of being modified and defined in a different manner from what has formerly been in practice; if ſome exiſting remnants of feudal evils, ſuch as the law of perpetual entails in Scotland, are now found to be peculiarly unſuitable to a growing commerce; if the teſt and corporation acts ſhould be found by experience to be as uſeleſs to the Church of England as they are grievous to the Diſſenters---the genius of the conſtitution is able to diſcover the evils, if ſuch they

are, and the Legiſlature is competent to remove them, and is ſolely and excluſively competent to judge of the times, and the ſeaſons, when ſuch acts can be performed, conſiſtently with the ſecurity of the ſyſtem itſelf, and with the intereſts of a great people ſolemnly intruſted to its charge.

*Look now on this picture, and on this *!*

France has ſtaked what government ſhe had, in the lottery of revolutions, and her ticket has come out a blank. The old government of France had no principle of improvement in its frame, nor any principle at all but that of arbitrary power, which pervaded every part of the nation, and haunted every walk of life. There was law, indeed, in France; but one part of the nation was above its reach, and another below its protection. The lives and liberties of the ſubjects individually were at the mercy of miniſters, princes of the blood, proſtitutes, and retainers of the Court. The perſons and property of the people were harraſſed at the diſcretion of farmers of the revenue, whom the government and tribunals ſupported through right and through wrong; and of manerial lords poſſeſſing local and deſpotic juriſdiction. The priſons were filled with perſons againſt whom no accuſations were pretended; but who were ſeized on the authority of *lettres de cachet*, at the application of any powerful relations. The kingdom ſwarmed with ſpies of the Court, who could gratify their own malice or revenge, by reports of their enemies, which were always credited. An heedleſs expreſſion in a coffee-houſe, a cenſure of a public meaſure, or a ſneer at a ſtrumpet, might hurry an unhappy man from his family, and his home, to the ſilent caverns of the Baſtille, where it was not permitted even to inquire after his fate. The ſoldiers inſulted the citizens daily, and with impunity. Companies of officers, in the boxes of the theatres, in the provincial towns, if at any time their abſurd behaviour

* Hamlet.

viour had provoked the laughter of the audience, have been known to draw their ſwords, to charge the unarmed citizens in the pit, and run through the body as many as were within their reach. The commandant of a city, when his harlot had been hiſſed for inſulting the audience, brought a body of muſqueteers into the boxes, who fired regular platoons into the pit, till the audience were driven out of the houſe, leaving their dead and wounded upon the benches; and all this without puniſhment or redreſs †. The whole was a ſyſtem of iniquity, of complex, rivetted and hopeleſs oppreſſion. The French, a lively and ingenious people, were degraded in the intellectual ſcale below the rank in which nature had fitted them to appear. The upper circle in ſociety had thrown around it a magic fence, which the commoner could not ſurmount, which checked the ambition and energy of the ſpirit, and left the ſpring of the mind to waſte itſelf on trifles; on dances, and opera ſongs, and gallantry; on the ſtudy of an headdreſs, the faſhion of a ſlipper, or the form of a ſnuff-box.

At length, a great combination of circumſtances brought forward the opportunity of procuring a change of ſyſtem; a new ſound was wafted by the breezes over every province, inviting Frenchmen to reclaim for themſelves, and for their country, the character and majeſty of freedom. The king had been obliged to call the States General, an aſſembly which had not met for a long period of time, and which was in its ſtructure analogous to a Britiſh parliament, conſiſting of nobility, clergy, and commoners. It was underſtood in all France, and every member of the ſtates felt in the impreſſions of his own mind, that the finances, though the firſt, would not be the only or the principal object of attention; and that the aſſembly would, by the circumſtances of the times, be led on to new conſtitutional arrangements. Nay, a new ſyſtem for the ſecurity of the ſubjects, and the protection of the national intereſts in time coming, was underſtood by the

† e. g. At Beauvais, in 1786, and at Marſeilles in 1788.

the king to be neceſſary; and he was ready to concur in any wiſe and moderate meaſures for theſe purpoſes. The repreſentatives of the nation, and even the leaders, were unſkilled in the ſcience of a conſtitution, and wholly unaccuſtomed to political diſcuſſions. Advices and opinions were tendered from different quarters, and ſuggeſted in conferences in this critical period. Among other ſchemes, the Britiſh conſtitution was propoſed as a model, recommended by the proof which it had exhibited for ages, of its clear efficacy to ſecure the rights and comforts of a whole people, and to give ſtrength, and wealth, and greatneſs, to a nation. ---there was reaſon to believe, that in this ſpecific reform, the king would have acquieſced; and when the ſtates met in ſeparate chambers, in their different orders, the form of the Britiſh conſtitution ſeemed at once to be obtained. The viſion came forward for a moment to the view of France; but it ſoon vaniſhed in the blackening of the clouds. The permanency of a conſtitution depends on the hold which it poſſeſſes in the hearts of the people, and on its adaptation to their principles and views, rather than on any intrinſic ſtrength in the forms of its arrangement. France was not yet ripe for a Britiſh conſtitution; ſhe had not paid for it, nor won it as our anceſtors had done. The principles of the higher orders were not yet brought to acknowledge and to ſupport that great idea of univerſal freedom, under which the laws ſpeak with impartial voice to all ranks, reaching to the higheſt their firm controul, and taking the loweſt under their ſecure protection *.

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* The Count d'Artois ruined the nation in its great criſis, by taking different ground from that on which the King was willing to have ſtood, and turning the ſtream of politics into the wrong direction. The Houſe of the Commons, or third eſtate, whoſe patriotiſm and good conduct, at the opening of this great cauſe, cannot be queſtioned, perceived two leading circumſtances at Verſailles, which put the Britiſh conſtitution out of their reach, and reduced them to the immediate neceſſity, of attempting to ſave France upon a different and more dubious plan. On the one ſide, they perceived that the chamber of the nobility were not diſpoſed or prepared to perform with good faith the functions of an Houſe of Peers, to concur with the Commons in thoſe acts of legiſlation, which might fix permanent limitations on the Crown, ſecure the liberties of the people, and guard the great principles and balance of the conſtitution;

The conſtituent aſſembly drew up a form of government, ſuch as they could in the circumſtances in which they ſtood: They ſet the machine in motion; but one wheel was wanting altogether, another was ſhattered, there was neither balance nor ſolidity in the machine itſelf, and it would not go on: it plunged and floundered through the mud for a while, till it came down with a craſh, and broke to pieces.

The conſtitution formed by the firſt national aſſembly could not go on; for it wanted *power*, it wanted *influence*, and it wanted *principle*. Theſe are three diſtinct ideas, and they ſhould be conſidered ſeparately.

I. It wanted *power*.---The limitations upon monarchy, which form mild governments, are not meant to leſſen the power and activity of the ſtate, but to reſtrain them within the bounds preſcribed by the laws. While in its defined ſphere, the arm of the executive government ought to be as potent and irreſiſtible, as if it were the arm of the nation itſelf. This is the very

ſtitution; and that they were ſtill leſs diſpoſed to ſacrifice their manerial claims to feudal ſervitude and juriſdiction, and to bear power in the ſtate, only in their houſe of aſſembly, without any ariſtocratical authority as individual ſubjects. Until the nobility ſhould concur with the views of the leaders of the Commons in theſe articles, it was impoſſible that the conſtitution could be balanced, or the liberties of France ſecured. By time and negociation, the patriots, with the nation on their ſide, might have gained their objects, and the wounds of France might have been healed; but the other circumſtance which the houſe of the third eſtate ſaw, prevented all negociation, and brought every thing, to inſtant and premature deciſion. The Count d' Artois, with equal treachery and madneſs, brought forward a military force to ſurround and overawe the aſſembly. The patriots in the Houſe of Commons ſtood firm; they did what the exigence of the moment required: They voted the aſſembly in one chamber; they invited the nobles to join them in the ſame aſſembly, which was decreed to be the whole repreſentation of France. The ſtorm of the Baſtille by the inhabitants of Paris drove away Artois, and ſcattered his forces. The Aſſembly was delivered from perſonal hazard; but the die was thrown; the conſtitution was maimed in its birth; and the reſentment of the people and of the commons, and the temper of the times, did not permit the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem for France on that broad baſis which is eſſential to national proſperity; for ſuch a ſyſtem, beſides the repreſentatives of the people, abſolutely requires the ſeparate legiſlative rights of the peers, and the due authority and dignity of the Crown.

The experiment was fairly made and tried in France, and the reſult furniſhes a leſſon of inſtruction to every great nation which aims at freedom, order, and peace.

very idea of mild and limited government, to be irreſiſtible in doing good, in protecting the individual, in ſuppreſſing miſchief and violence, and in repelling every foreign enemy; but to be impotent to evil, and bound to revere the legal privileges of the ſubjects.

But the French not only deprived the executive of the power of doing harm; they alſo and as effectually diſabled it from doing good. The king and his miniſters could do nothing,---they ſaw the growing diſorders of the nation,---they remonſtrated with the aſſembly on the neceſſity of giving ſtrength to the arm of government; but without effect. The authorities as they were conſtituted, were unable to reſiſt the plunderers and inſurgents, who were ſpreading fire and aſſaſſination over the country; they felt themſelves incompetent to reſtore diſcipline to the army, or to make head againſt thoſe powers who were preparing to invade the kingdom.

Nay, the aſſembly itſelf had not power to give that ſupport to the king, which they knew the ſafety of the nation required. It was overawed by the Jacobin club, an aſſociation of licentious and unprincipled republicans, who, ſtanding up under the patronage of the *canaille*, and taking the lead of the mob of Paris, were more really legiſlators than the aſſembly themſelves. The Jacobins had new projects in view, and to theſe they ſacrificed the conſtitution. It is true, the conſtitution was not worth the ſaving, from the moment that it was unable to contend with the Jacobins.

II. The French government formed by the conſtituent aſſembly wanted *influence*.---A man may be induced to do his duty in his ſtation, and to ſerve his country, either by compulſion or by inclination. Under deſpotic governments, compulſion is the only means employed; the public is ſerved, but the individuals are degraded and enſlaved. In limited governments, compulſion is adopted no farther than neceſſity and equity require; that is, it is employed to prevent injury and wrong, and to ſecure the public peace, and

the general ſafety. In free governments, therefore, where men act according to their choice in moſt occaſions of life, it is neceſſary, that the ſtream of general *inclination* ſhould be preſerved on the ſide of the conſtitution. But how ſhall this be effected? By patriotiſm you will ſay.---It is well: The principle is noble, and is powerful. It can ſuſtain and lead a whole nation in the criſis of impending danger, or in the ſhock of invaſion. But in the ordinary current of government, this principle riſes not into its enthuſiaſtic ſtrength with the body of the ſubjects at large, though in the boſoms of many virtuous individuals it may continue to glow with unabated ardour. Hence the neceſſity in free governments of an auxiliary ſyſtem of influence, in aid of public virtue. Yes, my countrymen, let bold truths be ſpoken, ſince this is the order of the day. And I ſay in the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and as induced by a patriotiſm which is my pride and glory as a Briton, that a ſyſtem of influence is neceſſary to a free government; that the want of this ſyſtem enervated the conſtitution of the French aſſembly 1791; that the ſame cauſe holds the nation of France at this time in ruins; and that the deſtruction of that ſyſtem in any country, will infer unavoidably the loſs of its freedom and its peace. The millennium is not yet come; it is not the ſaints only for whom the governments of the earth are intended, but mankind, in mixed ſociety, with all their varieties of diſpoſition, and with all their imperfections; and it muſt be a powerful ſpring of action which will carry them on in an uniform and ſalutary courſe. But what is this ſyſtem of influence, ſay the reformers of the day, is it not corruption? The fartheſt from it in the world: Corruption and bribery are the excreſcences and blemiſhes ſometimes appended to this ſyſtem, but they have no relation to its eſſence. Corruption gives men an intereſt to do wrong, but the ſyſtem of influence is that which makes it every man's intereſt to do right, to be a virtuous citizen, and to make the full exertion of his talents in his proper ſphere, and ſuggeſts the permanent motives of good

conduct

conduct in the ſame courſe which the trueſt patriotiſm could dictate.

The ſyſtem of influence operates, in the diſpoſal of offices, civil, military, naval, and every other branch of the public ſervice, and in the legal ſecurity which gives value to promotion. It emanates from the Crown in a limited monarchy, and is the price which muſt be paid for univerſal freedom, to render it conſiſtent with order;---if, indeed, that can be deemed a price, which is itſelf an acquiſition and a benefit; which gives animation to the whole of public life; which calls up the talents of able men in every department of ſociety; which provides rewards for merit and induſtry; and which joins the general and the particular intereſt in one indiſſoluble bond.

The ſyſtem of influence is the introduction of rewards into the ſcheme of government, and gives that excellence to a conſtitution, which many politicians have believed to be impracticable, aſſerting that puniſhments only were the inſtruments of human governments, and that civil rulers were naturally incompetent to a moral adminiſtration by rewards: And the advantage of the ſcheme flows, not merely, nor chiefly, from public remuneration, but from the influence of hope and confidence, and of the laudable ambition connected with public duty, which it nouriſhes in a thouſand different departments.

To give effect to this ſyſtem, which makes inclination and ſelf love coincide with patriotiſm, it is abſolutely neceſſary that ſituations of preferment ſhould be rendered ſecure, and that the rewards aſſigned to merit, ſhould be held under the protection of law. If by every blaſt of unpopularity, the beſt men ſhould be expoſed to ruin, and to be hurled from eminent ſtations into indigence and inſignificance; if every thing like permanency is wrenched from the ſcale of fortune, the ſtability of a free government is gone, and the conſtitution itſelf is left unprotected and defenceleſs. The men who are moſt able to ſerve the public, and who have beſt ſerved it, diſappear from the ſcene of buſineſs; and thoſe who remain, reel onwards

through raſh and ill-concerted projects, and feel no ſteady and perſonal dependence upon the public proſperity. Mark now the ſtate of France:---What is become of all thoſe men who ſtood foremoſt in the ſtruggle of patriotiſm, when the old government was overthrown? Where is Fayette, Lameth, Barnave, Rochefoucault, and all the leaders who directed the firſt deciſive meaſures, and bore up the country in the ſhock of the revolution? Some of them, obliged to fly for their lives at the firſt change in popular opinion, and in the ſtate of parties, are now pining in foreign priſons,---ſome lying in the dungeons of the provincial towns in France itſelf,---others ſtabbed in the public walks of Paris, or maſſacred in the jails of the country which they had laboured to ſave; and all ruined and trode down, by various forms of violence, have diſappeared from the ſcene. Nay, there is hardly a man of all thoſe who were in the management of public affairs a year ago, who is not either ſlain or fled, or reduced to obſcurity and oblivion. The names of all the men in office or power, are new, are continually changing; and, indeed, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, there is not an office of public truſt in all France, which in point of permanency is worth one months purchaſe; not to mention the perils of ſuch ſituations, where every ſervant of the nation, civil and military, goes through his functions with the muſket levelled at his head.

Would our reformers wiſh to have another leſſon on the perſonal conſequences to the leaders, when a nation has been put in motion? Let them look back to the parallel caſe in the hiſtory of England, when the Hampdens, and Pyms, the great band of patriots and heroes who ſtood forth for the liberties of their country, had broken the power of Charles, and had ripened the great cauſe as they thought, and ſeemed about to obtain thoſe permanent limitations upon the monarchy, and thoſe pledges of ſecurity in the hands of the people, which would guard their rights in future times. *The ſpirit which they had raiſed overworked their purpoſe.* A new party ſprung forward, compoſed

poſed of dark republican independents, who ſcorned all moderate reform, drove the patriots off the ſtage, and overwhelmed them, the king, and the conſtitution, in one univerſal ruin, and ſet up the Dictator Cromwell, to tread on the neck of England.

The ſyſtem of influence in a free ſtate is the organization of the whole country for the protection of the conſtitution. The leaders of France had not time to form it, before they were borne down. They had been forced, in a moment of neceſſity, to reduce the national aſſembly to one chamber, and they had been induced in a moment of phrenzy, and of huzzaing, to ſuppreſs the titles and the order of nobility. They diſcovered the error, and meditated the reparation. But before ſtating the cataſtrophe which followed, let us conſider calmly the degree in which an hereditary nobility, forming a branch of the Legiſlature, is of importance in a free ſtate. I ſay in a free ſtate, for in a government like Spain or Portugal, their importance is leſs, though even there it is conſiderable, and is beneficial to the country at large.

The ſound patriots in the Long Parliament were ſenſible of the importance of the Upper Houſe, as a branch of Legiſlature in a free ſtate, though Cromwell thought otherwiſe, and reckoned his general officers a more effective intermediate board between the uſurper and the people. As men of conſequence and property, the nobles have a great ſtake in the country, and are intereſted in the preſervation of the ſyſtem, though they are removed from the immediate effect of popular influence. In England, they have on various occaſions interpoſed in ſupport of the laws and conſtitution, when endangered by precipitancy, or by irregularities, in the tide of popular opinion. In that Houſe there are at all times a number of leading men, who by their own abilities and perſonal ſervices, have riſen from the rank of commoners, of various profeſſions, and there are the heads of the law, all of whom have made their own fortunes, and from their youth have been devoted to conſtitutional ſcience; and there is in the wiſdom and honour of the whole aſ-

ſembly

ſembly, the ſafe balance of the political machine, which is felt in every great movement in public affairs.

There are two circumſtances relative to the Houſe of Peers, which are the great ſtumbling blocks to politicians of the caſt of Thomas Paine, who are able to look only at the ſurface of ſtate arrangements. One is its hereditary character, and the other its apparent readineſs to agree, in the courſe of buſineſs, with the Commons, and with the miniſters of the Crown.

The hereditary character of the Britiſh nobility is eſtabliſhed upon a different principle from the conſtitution of Nobleſſe in Spain, Germany, Poland, the old government of France, or any other ſtate. On the Continent, the nobility have always been as a different race of men, ſeparated from the Commons by immoveable barriers, from generation to generation: the whole family poſſeſſing the titles and rights of Nobleſſe, like the Caſts of the Gentoos, whoſe deſcendants are never to be detached from their reſpective tribes. Hence, in France, the Nobleſſe had extended to fifty thouſand perſons; and, in other countries, their numbers increaſe in the ratio of whole families tranſmitting their rank through all the ramifications of deſcent. Thus, nobility, in all theſe caſes, is a nation within a nation, poſſeſſing ſeparate intereſts from the people, and forming a real Patrician ſyſtem on the unalterable claims of blood. This is the unqualified ariſtocracy which has a natural temptation to invade the rights of the Commons, and which feels no ſecular motive to guard their intereſts; and it was this ſituation, and the habits which it had formed, which rendered the Nobleſſe of France unfit to diſcharge the functions of an Houſe of Peers, and to ſave the country at the revolution. They were too numerous to take their ſeats in their own right; and, therefore, they behoved to ſit in a repreſentative character. And theſe repreſentatives, and their conſtituents together, were a diſtinct race from the French people, whoſe fortunes the deſcendants of the nobles were never to ſhare, either in their freedom or their ſufferings.

Nobility in England, on the contrary, is hereditary only in the eldeſt branch; it exiſts not in the child at all while his father lives. The Britiſh peer ſees all his children commoners, in the ſame conſtitutional rank with the body of the people; he knows that his whole family (the eldeſt ſon excepted), together with all their deſcendants, are commoners and nothing more. By this proviſion, the two ranks are mixed in the intercourſe of life, and united in a common intereſt. The numbers in the peerage do not increaſe by deſcent. The nobleman, who is a father of a family, is bound by more ties to the intereſt of the people, than to that of his own order: His ſons become merchants, lawyers, ſoldiers, and ſailors; he gives his daughters in marriage to commoners, as readily as to lords; and he is, in all reſpects, placed by the laws in that preciſe ſituation in which his heart and his honour concur in leading him to act in his legiſlative truſt, in the houſe of Peers, with a view to the public good, and to no other object.

The hereditary rank of the members is the beſt ſecurity to the nation, for the effective and ſteady exerciſe of its appropriated functions. Few public bills originate in that Houſe: It acts in its uſual courſe, as a grand council of controul, for the protection of the conſtitution; and if ſchemes are ever brought forward, whether by miniſterial or popular intereſt, which might be ſuſpected to endanger the balance of the ſyſtem, the nation has this ſecurity, that they cannot take effect till they have undergone the jealous ſcrutiny of an aſſembly of men, whoſe votes are pledged to the conſtitution by the ties of nature, and the honours and intereſt of their children, and of their children's children.

The next ground of lamentation to the politicians of the clubs, is the uſual concurrence of the Peers, with the Commons, and with the miniſtry in the courſe of buſineſs. Do theſe gentlemen of the new light then imagine, that the balance of a free government conſiſts in a ſettled oppoſition of its parts? What was it that deſtroyed France in the firſt days of its revolution?

ſion? It was, that the nobles were not prepared in principle to act cordially with the Commons in ſettling the arrangements of the kingdom. That, in a ſeparate chamber, they would have thrown out every bill which might have been ſent up to them from the third eſtate, and that the public buſineſs could not have gone forward: This was the hard circumſtance of the times, which made the conſtitution vaniſh; but the Britiſh Houſe of Peers is in the intereſt of the country, and ſeconds the progreſs of buſineſs in its proper courſe. Yes; but it ſupports the miniſtry; and ſo does the Houſe of Commons. This, ſay the clubs, in their wiſdom, is the worſt of all: The nation is ſacrificed. How! is it becauſe its whole governing powers move in concert for the general intereſt? Becauſe all the ſprings of authority in the empire act with the energy of union? The Miniſter always enjoys the confidence of both Houſes, for this plain reaſon, that without this he is no miniſter: It is the condition of his exiſtence; the forfeiture of that confidence is the loſs of his office; he acts at every ſtep under the awe of the Conſtitution; he muſt frame his meaſures according to the principles of Parliament; they muſt be ſuch as will abide the double ſcrutiny of the Houſes; he muſt ſatisfy them, that he ſerves the public well, otherwiſe he ſerves it no longer. The checks in the Britiſh Conſtitution are provided in admirable wiſdom, to give no embarraſſment to the public ſervice, but to preſent inſurmountable barriers againſt any invaſion of rights, from whatever quarter it might come. The influence of theſe checks is felt beyond the ſphere of their viſible operation, in preventing the very propoſition, as well as the accompliſhment of wrong; they make themſelves reſpected in the framing of every bill, and in the ſhape of every motion. When, at any time, even the Houſe of Commons has been led forward upon dangerous ground, the hiſtory of Parliament exhibits many inſtances in which the Houſe of Peers have ſtood forth, the effective guardians of the public intereſt, and have merited and obtained the bleſſings of the nation.

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The national advantages, in another point of view, which are derived from the inſtitution of nobility, are perhaps not inferior even to the political ſecurity which reſults from their ſeparate Legiſlative operations.

The acceſs to that order, which the Conſtitution opens to eminent Commoners, who have merited well of their king and country, preſents the moſt ſplendid recompence to important ſervices. Generals of the army, admirals of the Britiſh fleet, diſtinguiſhed ſtateſmen, and ſages of the law, ſee before them a great object, attainable by merit in their profeſſions, and in the execution of their public truſts, which may call forth the utmoſt exertion of abilities, and reward their perſevering efforts for the glory and benefit of the nation. Of this high promotion, the value conſiſts in its hereditary character, by which the motives of parental affection, and of family honour, are brought with full operation into the line of public duty. This inſtitution crowns the great ſyſtem by which, in a free government, perſonal intereſt is more or leſs entwined with public obligations, through the whole body of civil ſociety.

Pedants in philoſophy, and half politicians, may point their ſatire againſt titles, and the badges of honorary diſtinctions, as they pleaſe; and may lament over the whole train of influence, which they ignorantly term corruption, becauſe they do not diſtinguiſh between a crime which tends to the diſſolution of patriotiſm, and an arrangement which confirms and inſures it; and which is and muſt be the immediate bond of political union, and an eſſential ſpring of exertion to freemen; but neither miſplaced ſatire, nor complaints founded in ignorance, will alter the nature of things. The French have now twice attempted a government, without providing rational motives to ſecure the ſupport of abilities in general concert; and they have found, both times, that the veſſel of the ſtate cannot be navigated, when the crew deſpiſe diſcipline and ſubordination, when each man pulls againſt another, and none ſeem to know their proper ſtations.

At times, indeed, when the ſtorm rages, the urgency of the hour produces ſome united exertion; but it laſts no longer than while the roar of the tempeſt drowns the voice of diſſention.

The Conſtituent Aſſembly ſuppreſſed nobility, threw out the prizes from their ſcheme, undid the ſecurity of all promotion, and broke the bonds of public attachment. The few men of ſenſe who were in the ſecond Aſſembly, endeavoured, during laſt Summer, to repair the blunder, and to give a conſtitution to France. The thing was viſibly in train; but in proportion as they began to depart on one ſide from the conſtituent code, the republicans took higher ground againſt them; and the conſtitution of the pamphlet was left without a friend. No motion had been as yet made to reſcind it, but it lay wholly diſregarded; and no perſon in either of the two great parties, the clubs of the Jacobins or of the Feuillans, ever thought of pulling it out of his pocket (as Mr. Paine ſays men ſhould do with conſtitutions), to ſettle any point in diſpute.

There are but three modes in which mankind can be governed; by power, by influence, or by principle. The moſt perfect government, is that in which they all meet; but where they all are wanting, it is impoſſible that the government can ſtand. We have ſeen that in the ſyſtem formed by the National Aſſembly, there was a want of power and a want of influence. I now add,

III. That the government of France, under that Aſſembly, wanted *principle*.

Free governments require the ſteady exertion of patriotiſm through all the ranks of ſociety, and ought to be conſtructed and managed on a ſyſtem which can inſpire and cheriſh this principle. Although patriotiſm requires to be ſeconded by the effect of influence, it is indiſpenſible, as a diſtinct cauſe of proſperity, to a nation; it is moral virtue brought into the public ſervice. Patriotiſm has the ſame relation to political influence, which conſcience bears to the laws of the land; which, far from oppoſing their operation, goes beyond

what

what they can enjoin, in the ſcenes of private life, to promote the peace, the comfort, and the order of ſociety. In the ſame manner, patriotiſm operates through a thouſand channels in the great ſyſtem, to which even influence cannot reach, and watches over the general intereſt with the vigilance and ſteadineſs of moral ſentiment. But to awaken, and to ſuſtain the principle of patriotiſm in a people, it is neceſſary that the government itſelf ſhould be eſtabliſhed in rectitude, that it ſhould be conducted in wiſdom, and conſecrated by religion. In any other views, what men ſometimes call patriotiſm, is nothing elſe but party ſpirit or ſelf intereſt, extending to a faction, which prompts to crimes rather than to virtuous actions, and is conſiſtent with oppreſſion, violence, and injuſtice, towards all other men.

The French ſyſtem, under the National Aſſembly, wanted the eſſential circumſtances on which true patriotiſm can be ingrafted. There was moral evil in the principles of the cauſe, and its effects appeared daily, both within and without the walls of the Aſſembly. There was a furious intolerance towards all who were ſuſpected of diſapproving of the meaſures of the day, even towards the unarmed and peaceable citizens. The French were not ſatisfied with ſuppreſſing the titles and priviliges of nobility; but a man of rank, who held his peace, was not in ſafety on their ſtreets, and the word ariſtocrate was a ſignal for aſſaſſination.

Beſides, patriotiſm requires to be founded on eſteem. There muſt be a conſciouſneſs of the value of the ſyſtem to which it attaches itſelf, otherwiſe it ſhould be a weakneſs inſtead of a virtue; but the conſtitution, from the firſt moment, ſhewed itſelf unſuited to the exigencies of France. The judges and tribunals which it eſtabliſhed were unable to bring delinquents to juſtice, or to keep the peace of the country. The mobs one day inſulted them, and the next were employed by them as the only competent officers to execute their decrees. The Aſſembly paſſed from blunder to blunder, adopting all the motions which were made to them from all quarters, ſuffering their more moderate members to be menaced in their preſence, and forced

to fly their country; they were visibly unequal to their business, and possessed neither dignity nor consistency. There was nothing here on which patriotism, as a rational principle, could lay hold.

Patriotism is the attribute of a free state, and cannot subsist without liberty; and there has never as yet been any liberty in France. There was licentiousness in abundance, in the period to which we now advert; but liberty, which implies first of all the safety and protection of innocent individuals, has never yet had the reign of a day in that kingdom. Men had licence, indeed, to murder, to rob, to burn and destroy. They might curse and harangue all day long on one side of the question; republican liberty permits this, and no more; but a word or a laugh on the wrong side, met the instant reply of the pistol or the poignard. There is, to this hour, no liberty either of speech or of the press in France. Men who are dissatisfied with the measures of the republic, must put a seal on their lips; and, should Mr. Paine presume to write pamphlets against their democracy, he would experience a brief prosecution, quite unincumbered with those legal forms of which he complains in England. Instead of the freedom of the press in the republic, the printing-presses have been carried off bodily from the houses of printers suspected of moderation.

Patriotism, as a moral principle attaching itself to political society, depends, like every other moral principle, on its relation to religion. The Creator of man has bound the social to the divine virtues, and made our devotion and our reverence to himself the groundwork of our duties to our brethren and to our country. Now, let the clubs tell us what is the religion of the French! I speak not of the church of France; on that topic I could indeed say something, both to their praise and to their blame. That, in augmenting the livings of the inferior clergy, and abridging the revenues of the higher,---that in the suppression of the orders of regular devotees, and throwing open the cells of the captives of superstition, they have done well; and they will do yet better, when they connect the

clergy

clergy with the country, by the legal permiſſion of marriage to that claſs of citizens. But in effecting the arrangements already made, they have committed a thouſand acts of injuſtice to the individuals, whom they have driven into exile, by tendering to them an oath which they could not take, and which the whole republicans of France have themſelves now broken and diſclaimed. And if they have tendered their oaths, without even profeſſing to fear God, they have been abſurd and unprincipled beyond any example in the hiſtory of man. But what is the religion of the French? We do not judge the hearts of men; it is their open and avowed profeſſions of which we ſpeak.

The principles of French licentiouſneſs (for of liberty they know nothing) ſprung from the mire of groſs impiety; and they have done with government what they had firſt done with religion; they have pulled down every thing, and built up nothing in its ſtead. They have broken the bonds both of ſacred and civil duty; they neither fear God, nor honour the king, nor regard man, and this they call philoſophy. It is not rational philoſophy, nor natural philoſophy, nor moral philoſophy; it is an abuſe of the name of ſcience, while to ſcience itſelf they have given a blow which it will not ſoon recover.

It is remarkable, that in all the ſcenes of peril and affliction through which the nation has for three years been led, the chaſtening hand of Providence has not been owned, nor has the name of the Monarch of the univerſe been publicly pronounced, unleſs in curſing, blaſphemy, and profanation. They have even in public orders, prohibited their armies, after victory, to give thanks to God; and have directed them, inſtead of retaining that practice, to ſing the ballad of the Federates of Marſeilles.

In the legiſlative aſſembly, an orator, declaring that liberty was his god, and that he owned no other God, was heard with the patience of approbation. Another member having introduced into his ſpeech the word Providence, was called to order by the cry of *Point de Providence! Point de Providence!* No Providence!

dence! No Providence! After this, it can hardly give additional ſurpriſe, that they introduced the name of our bleſſed Saviour with ſuch bitter ſarcaſms of reproach and malediction, as a Chriſtian even ſhudders to recollect. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that they were not ſurpaſſed by any of the ſpeeches of the Jews when he ſtood before Pontius Pilate. Frenchmen, ſo far from enjoying religious liberty, are denied the liberty of profeſſing to have any religion at all.

I do not mean to lay againſt a whole nation the charges of impiety and libertiniſm. No nation ever did, or ever will exiſt, under an univerſal dereliction of principle. There are unqueſtionably, numbers of excellent perſons in France, who, in the walks of private life, are ſteady in the intereſts of religion and virtue. But it is an obvious fact, that the men of the infidel intereſt have aſſumed the lead in public affairs, and have borne down all before them; that they direct the national meaſures upon unprincipled plans; and that they have laid their country in ruins, by deſtroying the ſprings of patriotiſm, of ſubordination, of ſecurity, and of public confidence; by making licentiouſneſs the characteriſtic of their politics, and by ſetting at defiance all the laws of juſtice, of humanity, and of God Almighty.

Mr. Paine affects to ſtate a compariſon in ſome points of government, between the French and Britiſh conſtitutions, in which he even pretends to find the advantage on the ſide of the former, and at the mention of each article, aſks triumphantly, What will Mr. Burke or his friends place againſt this? He waves his tomohawk, and gives a general challenge on this field of compariſon. If it were worth while to accept the challenge, I ſhould meet him, not in the corners and alleys, where he ſkulks like his American Indians in a buſh fight, but on the broad ſummit of the field, from whence the whole can be ſeen in its form, its colour, and its extent: and here I might take him up, either on the conſtitution which the National Aſſembly brought forth, or on the ſtate of France in its new ſhape, if it is a ſhape, which it aſſumed on the 10th of

Auguſt,

Auguſt. Of the former, it has happened unluckily for Mr. Paine, that after he had written his two volumes filled with panegyric and admiration of its beauty, and perfection, and everlaſting ſtrength; and after giving a defiance to all England, to produce any thing like it under the ſun, it has ſhewn itſelf to have been reared without cement, on the ſurface of the ſand; and at the firſt guſt of the ſtorm, it has tumbled down in ruins. A very ſhort trial ſhewed that it wanted the eſſence of government, and that it was wholly incompetent to any purpoſe whatever.

And what, cries the French agent, will the advocates of Britain place againſt this? We place againſt it the ſecure poſſeſſion of the very things which are wanting in France. The weight of a conſolidated and united empire, the reign of the laws, holding ſupreme authority in Britain with that univerſal controul which is involved in univerſal protection: and the power of the Crown emanating from the centre of the conſtitution, which brings the whole public force to act with deciſive effect, for the defence of the nation, and for the execution of the laws. We ſtate the unlimited liberty of the people to do every thing which is either good or innocent, and the reſtrictions which prevent injuries and wrongs, and theſe only; that liberty which has elevated the ſouls, which has given force to the genius, and ſtrength to the arms of Britons, and taught all Europe to look to this nation with reverence. We ſtate the firm and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and the legal fences of property, which have produced general proſperity through all the channels of manufactures, cultivation, and commerce. We ſtate the ſecurity attached to public employments, civil, military, naval, judicial and eccleſiaſtical, which places the men beyond the reach of the politics and paſſions of the day, and which binds all public life by ties, which are only ſubſidiary to the public good, and public virtue. We ſtate the direct operation of principle, in a ſituation in which patriotiſm reſts on moral approbation: Where the juſtice and wiſdom of the great ſyſtem ſecures the eſteem of the

heart,

heart, and renders loyalty an obligation upon the conſcience.

Here are the very ſtamina of a free government. In the room of all and every one of which, there appears nothing in France but a vaſt blank, either before or ſince the 10th of Auguſt. Thus we can diſcern how it happened, that the French conſtitution expired before it was twelve months old. Juſt giving time to Mr. Paine to write two volumes in its praiſe; it dropped, becauſe it was defective in vital principle, and was deſtitute of intellects. Its ſhadow on paper only remains, and even Paine will hardly have the forehead to hold it up in the Convention, and to ſay, Lo this is the perfect conſtitution to which all my volumes have been devoted, and whoſe unfading excellence I have proved to the conviction of the clubs of England.

During the courſe of laſt Summer, the two parties in France, the Jacobin club, and the club of the Feuillans, revolted from the printed conſtitution, in oppoſite directions. Both became ſatisfied that it was no better than a hypotheſis of government, which was impracticable, uſeleſs, and a bundle of nonſenſe. The one party imagined that its inefficiency aroſe from its retaining the King as a part of the conſtitution. The other party held that the ſalvation of the country depended on giving ſome real ſtrength to the Crown, and on eſtabliſhing an upper chamber of aſſembly.

The club of the Feuillans, which conſiſted of all the moſt moderate men who took any ſhare in the politics of France, wiſhed to revert to the ſyſtem which the Conſtituent Aſſembly had at firſt endeavoured to eſtabliſh, and to recover the true conſtitution of a free ſtate, nearly on the model of Britain. They wiſhed to form a ſenate, compoſed of members who ſhould hold a permanent ſituation, and which, in time, might ripen into a proper houſe of Peers: and to concentrate in the throne an efficient executive power. At one period their meaſures appeared to have acquired a great

great degree of public ſupport, and of general popularity; good citizens ventured to ſpeak out, when the proſpect of ſuch a happy ſettlement of the national troubles was preſented to their view. The Jacobins, who were furiouſly bent upon democracy, and the ruin of the throne, ſaw their danger, and formed an alliance with the mob of the ſuburbs of Paris. They ſent their agents over all the kingdom, and particularly to Marſeilles, where republicaniſm had taken deep root, to procure an armed force, to ſecond their arguments in the Aſſembly. Meanwhile, the violence of the parties, and the rumours of hoſtile preparations, excited general alarm; and in order to ſoothe it, the celebrated kiſſing ſcene took place in the National Aſſembly; when a member, in the ſimplicity of his heart, after deploring the preſages of the times, propoſed that the deputies ſhould lay aſide their ſtrife, renounce both a republic, and the two chambers, and meet each other on the ground of the conſtitution, the propoſition operated like enchantment; the oppoſite parties ſprung from their ſeats, and with outſtretched arms met each other on the floor. The motion was huzza'd and embraced into a decree. The king was introduced, and the Aſſembly, half dancing, and half crying, around him, hailed with acclamations, the Nation, the Law, and the King. But neither the tears, nor the kiſſing, nor the dancing of the Legiſlature, could ſave France. There was a want either of ſincerity, or of ſenſe, in this exhibition. The moſt charitable conſtruction is, that it was a momentary effuſion of good nature, bordering on childiſhneſs; it had no conſequences. The Jacobins continued their plots againſt the friends of public order, and the Federates were haſtened from the ſouth, to plead the republican cauſe. The moderate party juſtly alarmed, either fled for their lives, or held their peace; the National Aſſembly was reduced to inſignificance; and the fate of the nation was left with the Jacobin club, the mob of the ſuburbs, the Federates of the South, and the abandoned proſtitutes of Paris, who, armed with pikes, daggers and piſtols, paraded the ſtreets

night and day. Of this great allied army, Pethion the mayor was the abſolute commander. At midnight preceding the 10th of Auguſt, theſe forces were collected in arms, and put in motion towards the palace. The object of the expedition was to overpower the only faithful diviſion of the king's guards, and to maſſacre the royal family without bringing upon the Aſſembly the infamy of the murder, or throwing the reſponſibility upon the nation itſelf. Some hours elapſed before the ſtorm burſt, and the king had time to fly with his family to the National Aſſembly. "I "come to you," ſaid he, "to prevent the commiſſion "of a great crime." The family were huddled into the clerk's cloſet behind the preſident's chair. The King's guards were partly national guards of France, and partly a regiment of Swiſs ſoldiers, all picked men, and the fineſt troops in Europe. This regiment had taken no part in the politics of the country; the king had now left them, and gone to the aſſembly, and there was no viſible ground of quarrel between the people and them.

Nevertheleſs, the mob, from different quarters, began to fire upon them. They ſent notice to the mayor of their ſituation; and Pethion directed them to repel force by force, till they ſhould be ſupported. At this time, the French guards drew off from the Swiſs. Cannon, and cart loads of ammunition were brought up; the aſſailants advanced to the ſlaughter of innocent men, who, perceiving that they were deſtined to deſtruction by a concerted plan, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt. The combat was long and bloody; the French fell in heaps, and were twice fairly repulſed; but new crowds advancing over their bodies, the Swiſs were at laſt overpowered; they dropped in their ranks, and a ſmall remnant made a kind of retreat towards the National Aſſembly and the main guard *. They were hunted through every place, and ſtabbed by the women in the lanes of the city;

* *Vide* Letter publiſhed in Holland by a ſurviving Swiſs officer, and circulated through Europe in the newſpapers of different nations; and the State-paper of remonſtrance, from the Swiſs confederacy to the French Aſſembly.

city; and ſuch as were taken alive, were publicly beheaded on ſcaffolds, even the following day. Of the whole corps, hardly fifty men eſcaped. The ſtorm was next turned towards every quarter where ſuſpicion, diſlike, or private revenge, might direct it; the ſtreets of Paris reſembled vaſt extended ſhambles, and the aſſaſſins were, at every ſtep, treading on dead bodies, as they run to commit new murders. Such was the birth of liberty and equality, and the Republic in France.

The king was impriſoned, and the aſſembly, conſcious that they wanted ſenſe, as well as power, in the preſent exigence, called a new aſſembly under the name of a Convention. But ſome of the leaders of the Jacobins, and of the mob, were not yet ſatiated with blood; Marat and Roberſpierre eclipſed Pethion in the popular favour, becauſe they were for a repetition of the ſcene; and Pethion was ſatisfied with the paſt: He even hinted ſomething about drawing a veil over it, inſtead of glorying in his ſucceſs. Marat and Roberſpierre, therefore, obtained the confidence and the command of the allied forces, and led them to the charge on the 2d and 3d of September; the priſons, at this time, were filled with many hundreds of perſons, ſome of whom had been taken up by magiſtrates on ſuſpicion, others hurried thither, at different times, by the mob. Theſe retreats were firſt attacked. The criminal judges, made for the occaſion, conſiſting of barbers apprentices, tradeſmen in their aprons, and federate ſoldiers, conducted the trials in the halls, and, acquitting ſome, delivered the reſt, one by one, to the killers, who attended theſe tribunals in troops, and who, bearing the unfortunate citizens to the ſtreets, cut them down with their hangers; and the acclamations of *vive la Nation*, from the multitude, went up to heaven, mingled with the ſhrieks and groans of expiring innocence. The National Aſſembly were guiltleſs; but they found that they were not the Legiſlators of the day. They ſent their deputies, in parties, over all Paris to ſtop the ſlaughter; but their efforts were vain: The victims fell even in their arms. "I

"went," ſays Pethion, "to the Hotel de la Force, "with my colleagues. I ſaw two officers in their ſaſh-"es: I then ſaw three men ſitting quietly at a table, "with the gaoler's book open before them, calling "over the priſoners. Other men, putting queſtions "to them; others performing the offices of juries and "of judges; a dozen of executioners, with their arms "naked and covered with gore; ſome of them, with "clubs in their hands, and others with hangers and "cutlaſſes, ſtreaming with blood, inſtantly executing "the ſentences pronounced." To be in holy orders, to have been of the Nobleſſe, to have written or printed an unpopular article in a newſpaper, were at the head of the liſt of capital crimes; even men of fourſcore years, and women, ſuſpected of loyalty or ariſtocracy, were delivered up to the killers.

The maſſacre was tremendous:---From the priſons, it paſſed to private houſes, and to the ſtreets. A word from a ruffian in the mob, was ſufficient to ruin the moſt worthy French citizen and his family. Neither wiſdom and experience, nor youth and beauty, nor literature and genius, nor virtue and patriotiſm, could procure quarter or reſpite to the poſſeſſors: All was fury, brutality, and horror; and ſociety, as Mr. Paine would expreſs it, was *reduced to its firſt principles*.

In theſe two exploſions of popular violence, France loſt above 20,000 people, in abſolute murder and aſſination.

It was afterwards recollected, that there were at Orleans about 50 ſtate priſoners, who had been ſent to that city upon different accuſations and ſuſpicions; and who had not yet been brought to trial. The Jacobin club, conceiving that the men of the 10th of Auguſt, and of the 3d of September, were the moſt active judges for a republic, ſent for the priſoners: They were brought to Paris under a guard. Marat's judges accordingly met them at the barriers, and diſcuſſed their trials in a few minutes, by running them all through the body.

One of the firſt difficulties, which the Convention found in taking the management of France, was to

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ſave the priſoners, in the different towns, from maſſacre. The mob, and even the national guard, were every where furiouſly bent upon the ſlaughter of the priſoners; theſe unfortunate people had been confined, not for any crime, but on the mere ſuſpicion of belonging to a party; and it was afterwards found, that many ſtaunch republicans had been hurried into the priſons, as well as the ſuppoſed friends of moderate government, and had ſhared the ſame fate; but killing was the faſhion of the times. The leaders of the Republican party were themſelves moſt anxious to ſave one priſon, that of the *temple*. It was, at one time, beſieged by the mob, but defended by the guards within, when, by a moſt ſingular capitulation, it was agreed, that the Royal Family ſhould be ſpared for the preſent; but that the Princeſs de Lamballe, lady of honour to the Queen, the great friend and comforter of her and her children, ſhould be delivered up to the people, who would not return to their homes without their amuſement. She was accordingly dragged from her priſon, and literally cut in pieces, with circumſtances too ſhocking for expreſſion; and, in the wantonneſs of diabolical cruelty, her bloody head was ſent up to the Queen, who was compelled to look upon it.

The pariſh prieſts who declined to conform to the new ſyſtem, were the next objects of the vengeance of the republicans. Oaths were made the teſts of conformity; and they were annulled and varied with ſuch rapidity, that the clergy knew not what ground to take. They ſought to retire from France till the return of order and peace; but their blood was the food of the republican cannibals. Many eſcaped, like ſtate criminals, to England, to Germany, and to Switzerland. But a great proportion of that harmleſs body of men were aſſaulted in all the towns of France, and put to the bayonet. The monks, turned out of their monaſteries, ignorant of the world and of all its politics, and ſtaring at the novelty of their ſituation, which they could not comprehend, ſet out crowded in coaches towards the frontiers, not knowing whither they went;

but

but in paſſing through the towns on their route, the carriages were ſurrounded, the travellers ſtabbed, their heads and limbs cut off, and the coaches ordered to drive on, loaded with the carcaſes and mangled fleſh of theſe harmleſs votaries of ſuperſtition. Through all the towns of France, the public diverſions conſiſted in proceſſions, in which the heads of men ſlain without trial or accuſation, were carried on the points of pikes, with the blood ſtreaming on the clothes of the men and women, who held them up to the view of the multitude, and who ſung with proper merriment *ca ira*, and the ſong of Marſeilles. The republic was ſuckled with blood, and in its cradle was delighted with no ſound but the voice of murder.

The ſpirit of the French nation has, in every civil broil, been marked with a character which is atrocious and ſanguinary; but the peculiar inhumanity and horror which it at preſent exhibits, it owes to the inſtitution of a democratical republic, in which the words *liberty* and *equality*, mean only riot and deſtruction.

The Cheik of the *Aſſaſſins*, a tribe of Arabs, from whom the term was derived into the languages of Europe, is well known in hiſtory by the deſignation of the Old Man of the Mountain. He kept a band of retainers, whom he ſent out ſingly, with concealed daggers, to avenge his quarrels, by the murder of any individuals who had offended him. During a cruſade, one of his people ſtabbed the Marquis of Montferrat in the Chriſtian camp. The European commanders were ſtruck with horror at this mode of hoſtility, unknown in any other nation; but they were ſoon informed by a letter from the Cheik, that the Marquis had perſonally incurred his reſentment; that the other generals had nothing to fear from his emiſſaries; that he had too much honour to reſort to this expedient in war, he only uſed it in his private quarrels. In the National Aſſembly of France, Auguſt 26. 1792, *M. Jean de Brie* roſe, to make a motion for deſtroying the kings and generals, who were fighting againſt the liberty of the nation. He propoſed "to raiſe a corps

"of

" of 1200 volunteers, who ſhould bind themſelves by " an oath, to go and attack, individually and collec- " tively, and by every poſſible means, the kings and " generals now at war with France: Theſe tyranni- " cides to be called, *Les douze cents*, The twelve hun- " dred; and to be armed with poignards and piſtols." The motion was adopted, and *paſſed into a decree*; and the Aſſembly proceeded to conſider the pay to which theſe deſperadoes ſhould be entitled, when *Vergniaud*, and ſome others, requeſted that it might be ſent to a committee for reconſideration, as ſuch a meaſure would induce repriſals, and conſequently give riſe to a war of the moſt horrid kind. After long debate, the plan was ſent to the committee; and was no more heard of. But, that the legiſlature of a great nation in Europe ſhould have *paſſed a decree* ſo black and infamous, is amazing even in a republic, and beats the Old Man of the Mountain all to nothing.

A republic, ſay the philoſophers of the new light, is the only government which ſecures the rights of man, and preſerves a nation from wars. The reverſe of this propoſition is the real truth of the caſe. A republic is the only government among a civilized people, in which there is no ſecurity to the rights of man, and in which the nation is never at peace. The exceptions which may occur to this obſervation, in ſome inſtances of republics, ariſe from peculiarities of ſituation, which will be noticed in their proper places. Come then, my countrymen! let us examine this queſtion, and confront theory with experience. Hiſtory is the inſtructor of the human race. The ſtates of Greece were republics, and they exhibited inceſſant ſcenes of public hoſtility and of civil diſorder. Athens, for inſtance, which ſtands foremoſt in every picture of Greece, was a neſt of factions, conſpiracies and violence. To-day a party acquired the aſcendant, and drove their rivals from the city: within a little, the exiles returned, with the change of the popular tide, and cruſhed their opponents in their turn. The beſt citizens were the firſt victims of every revolution, and revolutions were end-

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leſs. To have ſerved the country well, to have defeated its enemies, to have acquired public eſteem, excited a jealouſy which inſured deſtruction. The democratic orators ſprung like bull-dogs on every victorious captain, and brought him to the ground. Even moral virtue could not eſcape them when it was eminent: Socrates was *denounced* for being too good, and his fate was the genuine teſtimony of the ſpirit of a republic. The like jealouſy of eminence, producing the death or exile of great generals and defenders of their country, appeared in all the other republics of Greece. The different ſtates were at perpetual war. Nothing could unite them but a Perſian invaſion, threatening the overthrow of them all. Athens and Sparta, inſtead of the friendſhip and alliance in which Mr. Paine dreams that neighbouring republics muſt live, were irreconcileable foes, and rivals for predominance among the ſtates; and bringing the other cities to join their hoſtile ſtandards, perpetuated through the whole country the calamities of war and bloodſhed.

The Roman republic was equally diſtinguiſhed for the commotions, violence and oppreſſion of individuals, which characteriſed its interior ſituation, and for the injuſtice and violence with which it harraſſed every neighbouring power; making war and conqueſt its trade, giving the name of patriotiſm to miſchief, and purſuing univerſal dominion, till it fell by its own weight, after many centuries, during which its ſword had once only been ſheathed.

Carthage the rival of Rome, was a commercial republic, but its hiſtory while it ſtood was the ſame in ſubſtance; marked by domeſtic atrocities and inſatiable ſchemes of conqueſt. In theſe two powerful republics, was there ever ſuch a propoſition made as a league of friendſhip and alliance, to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe and Africa? Each ſide knew that the genius of its ſyſtem, was incompatible with the very exiſtence of its rival. Rome muſt be deſtroyed---Carthage muſt be deſtroyed---was the public language in the ſenates of the hoſtile powers. Hannibal in Italy had almoſt accompliſhed the vow of Carthage, when his

his merit and ſucceſs, theſe unpardonable crimes, exciting jealouſy and enmity againſt him at home, his ſupplies were cut off, and his enterpriſe was ruined by faction; by the true republican paſſions, the great ſtake was loſt, on which exiſtence depended. Rome triumphed, and Carthage was ſwept from among the nations. Rome, indeed, in her conduct towards her rival, was cruel and unjuſt; but this alſo was in character, for a republic has neither juſtice nor mercy.

In the republic of Venice, the voice of liberty was never heard, nor dares any individual utter even a whiſper on the conduct of public affairs: a ſtern ariſtocracy governs the nation in ſecret and jealous cabal; all is myſtery and ſilence.

In the United Provinces, there is a confederacy of ſeven ſmall republics. An Engliſhman in Holland is ſurpriſed at the abridgement of freedom both in ſpeech and action, ſo unlike what he has known at home. The tyranny ſprings from the republican leaders; and it is only the power of the Stadtholder exerted on the ſide of the people, againſt the chiefs, which prevents theſe republics from becoming ſcenes of miſery. Had the patriots as they were termed, prevailed in the laſt ſtruggle againſt the houſe of Orange, the liberties of Holland, ſuch as they are, would have been extinguiſhed.

Two inſtances will occur, as exceptions to ſome of the remarks which have now been made. The republics of Switzerland and of America. The Swiſs cantons are thirteen ſmall republics, ſituated in a mountainous region, where the people, ſcattered in different valleys, are ſtrangers to the habits which are formed by extended commerce and manufactures. They are not brought together in populous cities to give ſcope to the republican ſpirit in civil diſſention; and their ſituation even from the origin of their government, in the midſt of powerful kingdoms, has neceſſarily limited their views, and their politics, to ſelf defence. Add to this, that the government in all the principal cantons, is ariſtocratical, eſpecially in Berne, which, from

its ſuperior population and power, poſſeſſes a marked influence in the confederacy.

America is but nine years old, as an independent country, reckoning from the peace of 1783. It is not a republic, but thirteen different republics, confederated for their general intereſts. Theſe ſtates make a great figure on the map, in point of territory, but by much the greater part of it is wilderneſs. The whole population of this vaſt tract of continent is not equal to that of one half of England. The people are ſcattered over the country, where they have cut down the woods in patches; they are farmers and planters who export their produce and raw materials from a few ſea-port towns. They have no manufacturing towns, nor engagements of that ſort, which produce great diverſities of rank and fortune, which aſſemble mankind in cities, and require a firm government for the protection of liberty.

It is the opinion of men thoroughly acquainted with America, that even making allowance for all theſe peculiarities, it cannot go on long in its preſent political ſituation. The ſpirit of rivalſhip and enmity is abroad in the republics, the ſouthern and northern ſtates ſtand in fixed oppoſition to each other, in their views and affections,---they were brought together only by a common intereſt in war,---their union at this moment depends upon the life of one man, the preſident of the ſtates; it is a bond monarchical in ſubſtance, though not in name, which holds America in one body politic. At any rate, as ſoon as America ſhall become a manufacturing country, and a land of cities, one of two events muſt follow; either that the ſtates muſt ſeparate, and exhibit the vices, and experience the miſeries, of republics in ſuch circumſtances; or they muſt reſort to a mixed government, in which a monarchy, and a nobility, may conſolidate and balance the political ſyſtem. We are able to diſcern only two ſituations in the hiſtory of mankind, in which a republic can exiſt, without producing infinite contention and miſery; the one is where the ſtate is confined to a ſingle city; the other, where it conſiſts of a few people, thinly ſcattered over a country, and ſeparated

by woods or mountains. In any other ſituations the ſons of violence become the lords of the people, the voice of prudence and of moderation is not heard, men of ſound ſenſe and plain honeſty are puſhed aſide from the ſcene of buſineſs, and the management of the nation is left with the leaders of the mob, with hypocrites, blackguards, and incendiaries; this is the teſtimony which hiſtory bears to republican government.

The convention have now attempted the deſperate experiment of making all France a vaſt democratical republic. The nation is already thrown down into that ſituation, and all thinking men behold with horror, *the hand which is writing on the wall* the notices of impending diſaſters, and of lengthened calamity to that great people. We have ſeen the bloody ſcenes which marked its commencement; and in its progreſs, it has ſhewn, that it is now a republic indeed; for the features are palpable and characteriſtic.

Firſt, an aſſaſſin lays a plot to become dictator, to govern France with the ſword of arbitrary power.

Next, the convention, terrified by the populace of Paris, propoſe to aſſemble around them a pretorian guard of choſen men from the provinces for their protection; but the leaders of the mob come to their bar with menaces of their vengeance, againſt both ſuch guards and their employers.

Then, requiſitions are poured in from the aſſociations of diſtricts, demanding the death of Louis, the head of the unfortunate family in the Temple priſon; who never injured his country, and againſt whom no accuſation had been even ſpecified in words, and who by his own propoſitions for a reform in the conſtitution of France, was in fact the parent of the revolution. Legiſlators of France! you have gone through your work of accuſers, judges, and witneſſes, at the ſame time, without caring about either relevancy or proof! Europe has beheld your contempt of juſtice in form, as well as in ſubſtance; you have taken on yourſelves in the face of heaven the reſponſibility for regicide!

The hiſtory of the Grecian republics exhibits among many other evils, a principle in their juriſprudence,

which ſtrikes even every ſchool-boy among us with aſtoniſhment. When a popular decree was paſſed in Athens, or any of the other ſtates, it was frequently added as its ſanction, that whoever ſhould propoſe its repeal, ſhould be puniſhed with death. This direct infringement and abdication of the liberty of ſpeech and argument, is the moſt abominable tyranny that can be conceived: it is now revived in the French convention, and can be dictated by nothing but the deſperation of a bad conſcience. In the ſitting December 3. Mr. Buzot roſe, and obſerved, that there were ſeveral partizans of royalty in the convention, and ſuggeſted, that whoever ſhould *propoſe* to re-eſtabliſh that form of government in France, ſhould be puniſhed with death. Mr. Merlin propoſed, that this puniſhment ſhould not extend to thoſe who might ſpeak in favour of royalty in the primary aſſemblies through the country of France. A vote of cenſure was called for againſt Merlin, and Buzot's motion paſſed into a decree. By this decree France has directly trampled liberty under foot, and prohibited freedom of argument, and of making unpopular motions, under pain of death.

There is ſomething in the nature of republics, which has a direct tendency to check the freedom of ſpeech and of debate in the legiſlative aſſembly. They are conſcious of their danger of loſing their beſt laws by a ſpeech and a vote; and therefore, when they are pleaſed with a law, they ſometimes bind it with a halter. The Locrian orators, when they were to move the repeal of a law, uſed to come into the aſſembly with ropes around their necks, that they might ſhew their readineſs to ſhare the fate of their motions.

What ſhall we ſay to the decrees reſpecting the emigrants? Theſe unfortunate people conſiſt partly of men, who being pointed out as victims to the popular aſſaſſins, fled from their country at different periods ſince the revolution; partly of men who, diſapproving the new meaſures, engaged in an attempt, with foreign aid, to reſcue France from its miſery and confuſion; partly of eccleſiaſtics, who had no alternative but vo-

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luntary exile or death; and partly of great numbers of men, women, and children, who, unconnected with parties, but alarmed and intimidated at the ſcenes of diſorder which affected their native land, ſought retreats elſewhere, till the ſtorm ſhould blow over.--- They are all condemned by one comprehenſive decree of proſcription, to the forfeiture of their inheritances, to the confiſcation of goods, and to the pain of death, if they ſhall ever return. The love of plunder, and the mercileſs ſpirit of democracy, are the ſecurities for the punctual execution of the decree. Why is it that, in civil troubles, fellow ſubjects of different principles renounce their mercy; and that the ſucceſsful party, eſpecially if it is republican, becomes finally implacable; and, while they will treat the ſubjects of an hoſtile nation, when taken in battle, as priſoners of war, blood alone can ſatisfy them in the caſe of their fellow citizens? I am unable to reſolve this problem; but I am humbled to the duſt at the hiſtorical fact.

The republic has alſo ſhewed itſelf in its true colours in the treatment of its ſervants. General Monteſquieu obeyed its orders with alacrity. He was denounced for being a gentleman, and was ſuſpended. Before the intimation of the ſuſpenſion, he was victorious, and the decree was recalled. A popular murmur afterwards aroſe againſt him, though without accuſation or accuſer. He knew that this was the death warrant, and fled his country to ſave his life. Dumourier has become too popular by ſucceſs. His bills have been diſhonoured, and his military cheſt left empty. The orators in the convention ſay, he is too powerful for the ſafety of the ſtate, and he ſtands on the verge of proſcription. The French can beſtow no rewards on their ſervants. A republic does not admit an arrangement of wiſdom and equity in this reſpect. It can only puniſh; promotion and conſequence are hold by the hour; and there is nothing permanent but ruin.

Pethion himſelf has now declared to the convention, that the affairs of France have been retrograde inſtead of advancing, from the commencement of the revolution;

tion; and that the abilities and patriotism which led to that event have since disappeared.

Liberty and *equality* were the watch-words given to the republic; they were sanctioned by the convention, and huzza'd by the people. They were words of too great latitude for the millions of France; they have been construed to mean licentiousness and plunder. Liberty is wholly banished from France, and will never return till the regeneration of order. Equality has borne three different meanings among different descriptions of people; *1st*, By the Constituent Assembly, it was understood to imply an equal participation of privileges, and an open access to office and employment, indiscriminately provided for all ranks of men; this was the good sense of the term. They had got a glimpse of the state of society which Englishmen have long enjoyed, in which protection is equal and universal; in which there is one law for the rich and for the poor; and in which a commoner might become minister of state, and the son of a country clergyman might, by merit alone, obtain the office of Chancellor of the kingdom. *2d*, Equality, as adopted by the National Convention, and given out anew as a watch-word, was meant to imply the abolition of all distinction of rank, excepting what was merely official; and was an arrangement which provided, that there should not be such a thing as a gentleman in all France, nor any designation but that of *citizen*. In Turkey, there are but two ranks; the sovereign and the slave. The French, disclaiming the former of these, resolved to reduce their nation, with this exception, to the standard of the Ottoman empire. *3d*, Equality was a word equivocal, and exposed to the hazard of an interpretation to which the convention did not advert when they threw it among the multitude; an interpretation subversive of all public order, of the rights of property, and of moral justice, and incompatible with the very existence of civil society. The word operated with a magical power on people who were less critically skilled in the language of politics. With them it brought

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forward the ideas of levelling, and of dividing the ſpoil, like highwaymen after a robbery. The mob on the *Loire*, roſe in arms, to the number of 15,000 to aſſert their own definition of equality, to pillage the farmers of their corn, and to *bring ſociety to its firſt principles*. They almoſt murdered the commiſſioners whom the convention ſent to give the critical interpretation of the term; and it is to be feared, that France has much yet to ſuffer from the ambiguity of this dangerous text, before the paraphraſe ſhall happily gloſs it over.

The ſounds of liberty and equality, which each man interpreted in his own way, filled the armies of France, placed the democracy on its feet, and communicated to a vaſt ſyſtem that republican impulſe which is adverſe to the peace of the world. A man is never ſo high, ſaid Cromwell, as when he knows not whither he is going. Little did Condorcet know whither he was going, in the cauſe which he was carrying forward, when he procured a vote of the Aſſembly againſt offenſive war in all time coming. Such a reſolution in a republican ſyſtem is an abſurdity. From the moment that France aboliſhed its monarchy, it commenced its carreer of univerſal hoſtility, with a force proportioned to its immenſe population, and with the enthuſiaſm of a principle imperfectly underſtood, but deriving ſtrength even from myſtery. The rights of other ſtates, moral juſtice, and the laws of nations, were trodden under foot. If a German prince had given their emigrants a lodging, his capital was ſtormed, and his territories laid under contribution. Nay, without any pretence of injury, and from the mere zeal of proſelytiſm to the republican faith, they entered Savoy in force, took poſſeſſion of a country where no hoſtile preparations were forming againſt them, and ſetting up ſomething like a gibbet, which they termed the tree of liberty, procured the ſubſcriptions of a few vagrants to a paper which they had dictated; and, on the authority of this deed, which was ſuſtained as the act of a whole free people, making a ſurrender of their country, Savoy was, by the con-

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vention, ſolemnly united to France, as an eighty-fourth department. In the territory of Nice, and Villa Franca, they have repeated the like ſcenes, with the addition of murder and deſtruction to the peaceable inhabitants. Their Admiral Truguet landed at Oneglia, and burned the city, in order to reconcile the Piedmonteſe to republican principles. At this moment, they menace the coaſt of Italy, the kingdom of Spain, the principalities of Germany, the States of Holland, and turn a ſcowling eye towards the Engliſh Channel, muttering their purpoſe of evil.

From the hiſtory of the French nation, it appears, that though they have often gained victories and ſeized on the territories of neighbouring ſtates, they have never been able to retain a conqueſt for any length of time; the cauſe is in the character of the people, and will continue to produce the ſame effect until it is removed, by a revolution which they have not yet planned; a revolution in their manners, principles, and conduct. The inſufferable inſolence of the French ſoldiery, and their deſperate profligacy when quartered in the conquered provinces, has uniformly been the cauſe of their deſtruction. They have often obtained footing in Italy, and have fallen by the vengeance of an injured people, rouſed, not by their country's cauſe, but by their individual wrongs. They were maſters of Sicily, but in the night of the famous Sicilian veſpers, the whole French troops in the iſland were to a man cut off, by a people whoſe tameneſs they deſpiſed, till their own wickedneſs turned it into fury. In Frankfort their formidable garriſon has been expelled with great ſlaughter, by the indignant citizens, from the ſame cauſe. In Flanders and Brabant the like requital is preparing for the confraternity of the democratic ſoldiers of France.

The minds of the French are raiſed to the tone of fanaticiſm; the operation of the principle is the ſame, whether falſe religion or falſe politics inſpire it; it is diſeaſe, the madneſs of the human mind, when it breaks the ties of reaſon, of order, and of ſubordination. There is a parallel caſe in the hiſtory of mankind.

When

When the Arabians, intoxicated by the impoſtures of Mahomet, poured from their deſerts, to convert the world to their new faith; when Khaled led his ſquadrons into Syria, when Amru Ebn Al-as over-run Egypt, and when Omar invaded the Perſian empire, and aſſailed the throne of the deſcendant of Cyrus, they carried the creſcent and the ſabre as the inſtruments of converſion; as the advocates of democracy bear the cockade and the bayonet. The great difference in the caſes conſiſts, not in the principle, which is the proſelyting zeal of fanaticiſm and party with both, but in the ſcenes of their reſpective operations. The Arabians found the Greek and Aſiatic empires in a ſtate of imbecillity and decline, but the French come upon Europe in its vigour, and muſt abide the terrible recoil of indignant nations.

The Convention, on the 19th of November, paſſed the moſt unprincipled decree which has been known in the hiſtory of nations; containing an offer of confraternity and aſſiſtance to the people in every ſtate againſt their reſpective governments, and an invitation to univerſal rebellion under the protection of France. "We have lifted up the axe," ſaid their orators on this occaſion, "againſt all the thrones on earth, and it "ſhall cut down alſo the men who would defend "them." In purſuance of this decree, they have admitted Engliſh malecontents to their bar, and publicly notified, by the mouth of the preſident, the claim which ſuch perſons now have to the confraternity of the French people. Their reſident in England, and the executive council of France, have endeavoured to attach a commentary to the decree, which would ſimply render it nonſenſe, and nothing worſe, viz. That the French will ſupport a whole people, or a majority of a nation, againſt their rulers. A majority need no aſſiſtance. But the decree will ſtand recorded in the annals of the world, as the moſt outrageous invaſion of the rights of men and of nations, which democratical conſpirators ever deviſed againſt the quiet of the human race.

Where now is the theory which preſumes, that a Republic is the inſtrument of ſecurity to liberty, property, and the rights of man, and the pledge of everlaſting peace; and which propoſes this expedient as the means of avoiding the oppreſſion of individuals, as well as the expence and calamities of war? The anſwer is not merely the opinion of any one man, but the concurring teſtimony of reaſon, hiſtory, and experience. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Two general obſervations will readily occur, as the reſult of the premiſes which have now been ſtated.

1ſt, It is impoſſible, in the nature of things, that France can remain in her preſent ſituation, and ſettle her government on the plan of a democratical Republic. How the ſcene of miſery and confuſion in which ſhe is plunged, will terminate, no man can foretell. Whether, cruſhed by the united force of Europe, which ſhe has wantonly provoked againſt her, ſhe ſhall fall as a ſtate; or, whether the French nation, groaning, as our anceſtors did, under the ſcourge of Republican factions, and ſtung by the vipers of democracy, will reſtore their monarchy to arbitrary ſway; or whether, inſtructed by their ſufferings, they may ever be able to unite in the plan of a limited monarchy, and obtain at laſt the bleſſing of a free Conſtitution, balanced and conſolidated by the efficacy of the three eſtates, like the great prize which Britain drew at the Revolution, it is not for us to explore. The arrangement is in the womb of time; but this we do know, that the French have not yet got ſight of their Conſtitution, on which they are to find reſt; that they have commenced the movement which they cannot ſtop, and muſt paſs through the fire, (as we did in the Cromwellian times), till the nation is purified and reſtored to its ſtandard by ſufferings.

2d, The only Conſtitution, under which a great and populous nation can enjoy peace, comfort, and felicity, is that of a limited monarchy: it is under this government only, that the ſubject can ſit in quiet under his own fig-tree, and where there is none to make him afraid. Where king and rulers, and judges, and magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, and people, and leaders of the people, are all under the ſame ſyſtem of well-known laws; and where equality, in reſpect of protection, and liberty attached to juſtice, are aſcertained and guarded by the prompt adminiſtration which monarchy only can yield.

And I add with confidence, that a great nation, which aims at freedom, will miſs its object, exactly in proportion as it departs from the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, which has been matured by the wiſdom of ages, and the labours of enlightened patriots, in long ſucceſſion. If France ſhall ever obtain a Conſtitution like this, let it know, that Providence ſhall then have beſtowed on it the bleſſing of a favoured nation.

Let the philoſophers of the clubs be heard now, in ſtating their liſt of objections to the theory and practice of government in Britain.

They ſay, that the crown is hereditary; and, to expoſe this principle, Paine has lent them all his wit, and whole pages filled with ribbaldry. The office of firſt magiſtrate in the ſtate, ſays he, ought to be elective: He forgot to mention who the real electors, in that caſe, ſhould be. I ſhall ſupply that omiſſion, and tell them, that the electors are the army, and the ſword the qualification of the voter. In the Roman empire, the throne was, for a ſucceſſion of reigns, filled in this mode of election: The Prætorian guards, on ſome occaſions, and the troops of the Legions, in others, conducted the ceremony. The ſtate was ſold to the beſt bidder, or given to the beſt bruiſer, or the moſt cunning flatterer, without regard to either talents or virtues; and, in the event of a double return, the queſtion was decided by arguments of ſteel; and the deed of election ſealed with the blood of the unſucceſsful candidate and his partizans. In the republic of Poland, the firſt magiſtrate is elected by voters in arms, and in martial array: And it is but few months, ſince all England took a lively intereſt in the ſucceſs of that unhappy people, when they made a great at-

tempt to convert their Republic, with its Elective Head, into an hereditary and limited monarchy, arranged after the Britiſh model: And when they were brought back to their old ſyſtem, by foreign force, the people of Britain pitied and lamented the ruin of that nation, and the beſt friends of liberty in this country were ready to give aid from their private fortunes, to preſerve, had it been poſſible, that happineſs to Poland, which ſhe had held but for a moment within her eager graſp.

An hereditary monarchy is the only pledge of peace to a people; it precludes the intrigues and ambition of the great families, and of any ſubjects whom ſuch a prize might ſtimulate to every dangerous attempt. While, in a limited monarchy, like Britain, the ſeparate Legiſlative intereſts of the Peers and Commons, and the checks within the Conſtitution, render it impoſſible for the Sovereign to injure the people, place the country without the range of dependence upon a perſonal character, and obviate completely the objections to hereditary ſovereignty, which are of no force, unleſs as they may be applied to abſolute governments and arbitrary power.

But why all this diverſity of rank and fortune in Britain, ſay the men whoſe own fortunes are deſperate, and who prefer ſpeculations of plunder to the road of induſtry? Becauſe, in a free country, where property is protected by law, men have acquired it, and are daily acquiring it, according to their induſtry, their talents, and the courſe of providence. And this diverſity is of infinite advantage to every rank of life; it holds ſociety, united in the bonds of univerſal connection; it is the very circumſtance which enables the poor to find bread, which keeps alive exertion in every department, which creates the very ſtate of proſperity, giving it a ſubſtantial exiſtence, and which makes all manufactures flouriſh, as well as commerce, agriculture, and the arts; while, by the nature and arrangements of ſociety in this land of liberty, there is the faireſt chance of ſucceſs to every induſtrious youth, and honeſt man, which is to be found in any country

on

on earth. It is here both lawful and ſafe for a poor man to become rich, if he can, by activity, care, and ſkill in an honeſt calling; but equality cannot ſubſiſt, unleſs where all are equally ruined; nor can it any where be preſerved without conſtant tyranny and oppreſſion.

But why have we not all equal *power?* Becauſe it is not the will of God, it is impoſſible in nature. In your own club, you are not all equal in power---you follow two or three leaders---even, in a mob, the people muſt place their confidence ſomewhere, and follow the directions of their chiefs. It is the law of Nature, that the many ſhall be governed by the few: and all the Conventions on earth cannot ſuppreſs its operation for a day---it is what muſt take place, both among themſelves, and every where elſe---it is an arrangement of divine providence, and it is for good, and for the intereſt of the many.

The next great article of declamation to the orators of the clubs relates to the taxes, and the application of the public revenue. The revenue of this country is from ſixteen to ſeventeen millions: Of which nine are applied to the payment of the intereſt of the National debt; one to the diminution of the capital of the debt, five to the army, navy, ordnance, garriſons at home and abroad, and miſcellaneous ſervices; and one to the civil liſt. The ſurplus, being applied according to the wiſdom of Parliament, either for paying off part of the capital of the debt, or for leſſening the burden of taxes. Let us meet this great queſtion fairly and openly, and diſcuſs its various branches.

1ſt, The debt---It is generally ſuppoſed, that the National debt amounts to a ſum greater than is convenient for a permanent load, and that its diminution, to a certain extent, would be advantageous to the country. Paine himſelf has not dared to propoſe, that the nation ſhould deal unjuſtly by its creditors, and renounce its honour and its moral obligations; he was too cunning to expoſe himſelf ſo completely, before the whole commercial intereſt of Europe, which leans upon the Britiſh funds. He even acknowledges

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the advantages which the nation derives from its debt, and objects to paying it off; but declaims againſt the wars by which it has been accumulated, and attempts to throw the blame of theſe and of all wars upon the Monarchy. Monarchs, ſays he, make a trade of war, as a pretence for taxation. Now, every well-informed man knows, that, both the war of 1755, and the American war, to which the great weight of our debts are to be aſcribed, related to commercial objects---they were the wars of the Nation. Whether they were right or wrong, does not alter the caſe: The Nation was reſolute in both wars. When the peace of 1763 was concluded, the people were offended; for they were ſucceſsful, and they wanted to drub the French and Spaniards a little more.---In the American war, if the miniſter had propoſed to give up the conteſt, and relinquiſh America, he would have been turned out with the National indignation, and another found who would have carried it on. We muſt now confeſs the truth; it was our own doing---the paſſions of the people were rouſed; and to ſay, that if we had been Republicans, we would not have done ſo, is downright nonſenſe. War is the paſſion of Republics; they fly to the ſword in the firſt inſtant of provocation, and often without any provocation at all; while limited monarchies have no intereſt in wars, and the new taxes, which are required by theſe ſeaſons of expence, muſt go, not to the public rulers, but to the public creditors.

In limited monarchies, the Crown, and the miniſters of the Crown, have a natural reluctance to war; it is againſt the intereſt of the adminiſtration, as it neceſſarily infers financial difficulties, and renders a place in the cabinet peculiarly inſecure: Hence the intereſt of miniſters, as well as their public duty, induces them to labour for the preſervation of peace, to do away by negotiation the grounds of miſunderſtanding with other nations, (which is effected, in many inſtances, beſides thoſe which come into public view), and never to reſort to the ſword, but when the honour or intereſt of the nation render a war unavoidable.

A funded debt, to a great extent, is an eſſential advantage to a commercial nation. The Exchange of London is the centre of the mercantile world, and there every trader finds a ready market for his money, in which he can diſpoſe of it to advantage: And a market, for that commodity, is, to him, as neceſſary as for his ſugars, his cotton, or his ſpices: The advantage is abſolute; but the burden of debt is not abſolute: It is relative only, and depends on its proportion to the National capital, and to the profits of individuals in different lines of buſineſs. To ſtate, as Paine does, the growth of the National burdens ſince the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, and to begin to reaſon on the condition of the Nation from theſe *data* alone, is the ſame thing as to give an opinion on the ſtate of a merchant's books, from examining the debit-ſide of his accounts, without adverting to the contents of the oppoſite pages.

The capital ſtock of Great Britain, which is employed in interior traffic, in the unrivalled manufactures of this nation, in the cultivation of the ſoil, or which is floating upon the ocean, or operating in every diſtant ſettlement, and procuring from every quarter, inceſſant remittances to the mother country, has advanced to a magnitude with which nothing in hiſtory can be compared; and has gone hand in hand with the national debt in its increaſe. Suppoſing a trader has a thouſand pounds of ſtock, and an hundred pounds of debt, it is evident, that if in the courſe of buſineſs, his ſtock and his debt ſhould both be doubled, his debt becomes a lighter burden than when he owed but half the ſum.

2*d*, The annual million.---In the caſe of the Britiſh funds, the ableſt financiers are of opinion, that the debt is greater than the exigencies of commerce require, and that a diminution prudently effected, would be advantageous to the public: To this purpoſe, one million of the revenue of the kingdom is appropriated. Paine has hardly dared to touch upon this arrangement farther than by a gibe, in which he terms it a deluſion, and modeſtly hinting that it is below his notice,

tice, ſkips away to another topic. Perhaps to pay debt is below his notice; but to be ſatisfied in this particular arrangement, ſhall I bid you conſult your banker or accountant? Conſult, if you will, the ſchoolmaſter of your pariſh, who is accuſtomed to arithmetical calculations, and you will learn with aſtoniſhment, the power of a given annual ſum operating in the accelerated ratio of compound intereſt, to relieve any financial burden. The mode by which any individual may pay his debts, in a much ſhorter time than moſt men imagine, is by a fixed annual ſum ſaved from his income, and ſacredly applied to that purpoſe; beſides the punctual payment of his intereſt. By this arrangement, his money produces the incredible effect of compound intereſt in his favour: He has every year the ſavings of the intereſt of the extinguiſhed capital, to turn into the ſame channel, in addition to his annual ſum, to pay off a greater proportion of his burdens; while his income is not further abridged by the operation. But Government, in acting upon this principle, enjoys beſides all this, an advantage which is altogether peculiar. The ſtocks are the ſums which the nation owes: When it purchaſes ſtock therefore, it extinguiſhes the debt to the extent of the purchaſe. Now, the market price of ſtock is generally below the nominal amount, and the whole *difference* in this caſe is ſo much clear gain to the nation in the bargain. With ſuch eminent wiſdom is this plan of liquidation framed and conducted, that in ſeaſons of diſtreſs or of apprehenſion, which produce the fall of the price of ſtock, the public mind is comforted by ſeeing the national debt then diminiſhed with moſt extraordinary rapidity. And if even in ſeaſons of war, the operation of the annual million ſhould not be interrupted, it is obvious, that provided the ſupplies ſhould be raiſed either by the year, or by temporary taxes, which in a few years might defray the expence incurred, without an increaſe of the funded debt, the reduction in ſuch caſes would proceed with the moſt deciſive effect. Suppoſing the war price of the 3 per cents to be 60, the nation will then be paying off 100l. of its debt

with

with every 60l. of its million, upon fair bargain, in open market, and without injury to any individual. The only objection which can occur to this ſtatement, is, that this arrangement would in future wars prevent ſuch a fall in the ſtocks as is here ſuppoſed, and as has in former wars taken place. But if ſo, what follows? That this ſyſtem of which the annual million is the foundation, is conſtructed on ſuch admirable principles, that while it produces a regular and accelerated reduction of the great debt, it bears up the national credit amidſt all outward evils, and provides for the ſecurity and proſperity of the whole commercial ſyſtem, even *flagrante bello*. Viewed on every ſide, therefore, it is a ſcheme of finance of unparalleled excellence.

3*d*, The national defence.---About five millions of the revenue are applied to the army, navy, ordnance, garriſons, and the whole ſyſtem of national ſtrength and defence, beſides miſcellaneous ſervices at home and abroad, ſpecially allowed and required by acts of parliament. All theſe things, ſays Mr. Paine, are of no uſe: Take the money, gentlemen, and ſhare it among you as you can agree. The reaſon is, that you have now no foreign enemies. Since France has become a republic, ſhe will never go to war any more. Make an alliance with her, and then let your two republics order Spain, Ruſſia, Algiers, and all the nations on earth, to diſband their armies, and diſarm their fleets, and they will obey you *. Do you alſo diſband and diſarm; make a law that no men of war ſhall ever be built in any country whatever; your ſhips of the line may be turned into colliers and Greenlandmen: Your trade will then be wafted in ſafety on the ocean, and no enemy will dare to touch you when you are defenceleſs! The ſimple expoſition of this project is its anſwer; and I will not affront my countrymen by ſuppoſing that any other is neceſſary.

4*th*, The civil liſt.---The laſt million of the revenue is applied to the civil government of the country. The

* Vide Rights of Man, Part II. c. 5.

hiſtory of the civil liſt, furniſhes a freſh proof of the paternal attention of our gracious ſovereign to the ſecurity and intereſt of his people. In the former reigns, the produce of certain branches of the revenue, the poſt-office, the rents of the remaining crown lands, and the other hereditary revenues of the crown, were appropriated to the King's houſehold, judges, public ſervants, and civil government; but his preſent majeſty, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſignified his conſent, that his own hereditary revenues ſhould be diſpoſed of, as might beſt conduce to the utility and ſatisfaction of the public. Theſe revenues now, of courſe, make a part of the aggregate fund, and a limited ſum for the civil government is granted, which is not equal in value to the preſent actual produce of the articles of revenue and eſtates ſo ſurrendered. And in the diſpoſal of the limited ſum, the king's miniſters are brought under the ſame parliamentary reſponſibility as in other branches of the national finance *.

The expences defrayed by the civil liſt, ſays Sir William Blackſtone, "are thoſe that in any ſhape relate "to civil government; as the expences of the houſe-"hold; all ſalaries to officers of ſtate, to the judges, "and every of the king's ſervants; the appointments "to foreign ambaſſadors; the maintenance of the "queen and royal family; the king's private expences "or privy purſe; and other very numerous outgoings, "as ſecret ſervice money, penſions, and other boun-"ties; which ſometimes have ſo far exceeded the re-"venues appointed for that purpoſe, that application "has been made to parliament to diſcharge the debts "contracted on the civil liſt; as particularly in 1724, "when one million was granted for that purpoſe by "the ſtatute 2. George I. c. 17."

Mr. Paine and his friends generally chooſe to overlook a diſtinction, though a pretty broad one, between the ſupport of the whole civil government of the empire, and the perſonal expences of the Sovereign, to which

* Vide Blackſtone, vol. i. p. 330. and vol. iv. p. 433.

which a ſmall part only of the civil liſt revenue is applied. Mr. Paine, when occaſionally forced by his own arguments, to advert to the expence of the *civil government* as the object of the civil liſt, ſtates, in contraſt to the expences of Britain in this article, that the whole civil government of America coſts only 60,000l. To this I have only two objections, *viz.* that the ſtatement is falſe in fact, and that it is nonſenſe in its application. It is a falſe ſtatement, becauſe the ſeparate expences of the whole thirteen republics of North America are omitted, which would have amounted to an accumulated ſum rather inconvenient for his argument; and he has given only the expence of the continental congreſs, which does not belong to the civil government of the ſtates, but to the federative government of the union. The members of congreſs are paid by days wages; there are few of them compared to the members of the French convention, where, at 15s. *per* day each man, they coſt the country 250,000l. Sterling *per annum*. His ſtatement is nonſenſe in its application to Britain, a country fully inhabited, cultivated, manufacturing and commercial; a country of triple the population, and twenty times the wealth of all the thirteen republics put together.

But, there are ſinecure places and penſions flowing from the civil liſt eſtabliſhment. This is the loudeſt note in the cry; becauſe individual envy here mixes with political lamentation. The money which goes into theſe channels, is ſuch an abſolute trifle to this great nation, that no man who knows any thing of the ſubject can have even a rational motive of complaint. On the contrary, he will ſee great reaſon to approve, on public grounds, of theſe very ſinecures and penſions, in the moderate extent in which they are found in Britain. To men who have ſpent the prime of their lives, and employed their talents in the ſervice of their country, theſe inſtitutions afford *otium cum dignitate* * in their declining years. In this view, the re-

* An honourable repoſe.

wards are acts of juſtice. To others who, by literature, ſcience, and the elegant arts, have improved the ſtock of human attainments, and advanced the celebrity of the Britiſh name, they are acts of wiſdom, as well as of generoſity. To others whom misfortune or adverſity has viſited, they are acts of mercy. What though, in ſome particular inſtances, they may have been beſtowed on improper objects? Is not every Chriſtian, in his private charities, liable to err in his diſtribution? Is he, for that reaſon, to deſiſt from giving? Every arrangement in human affairs is unavoidably ſubject to partial abuſe; but the effect of the places and penſions, moderate as they are, in the Britiſh ſyſtem, is, on the whole caſe, more advantageous to the nation than even to the objects of its bounty. It receives gold for its ſilver; and while it enables its rulers to ſhew the juſtice, wiſdom, and mercy of the ſtate, it brings forward all the talents, and inſpires the alacrity and confidence by which its honour and intereſt may be moſt eſſentially promoted. The man who is ſpending his youth and ſtrength in laborious or perilous ſervice for the public good, is encouraged to perſevere; and conſoles himſelf by ſaying, "When "I am old, my king and country will take care of "me; or if I die, they will not leave my widow or "my children deſtitute."

The Scotch reforming clubs brought forward the penſion liſt of that country into the public newſpapers. They meant, as they boaſted, to expoſe a ſyſtem of iniquity; but they knew neither the funds from which they were paid, nor the grounds of the particular ſelection of the penſioners. The penſions on the Scotch eſtabliſhment are paid from the actual revenues of his Majeſty, as King of Scotland, diſtinct from the national revenue, and which were not comprehended in the ſurrender above mentioned. They have in courſe accrued to the Kings of Great Britain. They are conſtitutionally in the diſpoſal of the King; he may carry them wholly to England if he thinks fit. His Majeſty diſpoſes of a greater ſhare of this revenue

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in Scotland than his predeceſſors had done; and this is the great grievance with the Scotch clubs.

The penſion liſt, when publiſhed, was attentively peruſed by the nation, and produced an effect directly the reverſe of that for which the publication was intended. The liſt met with an approbation which was heart-felt, and almoſt univerſal. It conſiſted of old ſervants of the public, who had held commands in the colonies; of men of letters, to whom not this country only, but all Europe, gives unqualified applauſe; of noble families whoſe fortunes are inadequate to their rank; and of a great number of women and children receiving the bounty of their Sovereign, in various proportions, according to the real exigencies of their ſituations. Perhaps 1000l. or 1200l. of the whole ſum might have been beſtowed upon other objects, in preference to ſome of the names which appear on the liſt; and what then? All Scotland ſaw that the liſt had no relation to political purpoſes; and that, in the greater part, it was the record of the King's eleemoſynary grants, which public ſpirit would bluſh to criticiſe. The publication was indelicate and cruel; but the liſt is confeſſedly honourable to the adminiſtration of this country.

But the nation is burdened with taxes.---The taxes are many: but whether they are a burden to the country or not, depends upon their proportion to its ability. If the wealth of thoſe who pay, has increaſed in a degree equal, or ſuperior to that of the taxation, the actual burden has not increaſed. The country muſt, at all events, pay the intereſt of its debt; it muſt pay for its defence, and it muſt pay for its civil government: It is to theſe purpoſes that the taxes are applied.

It is neceſſary, in order to judge at all of this ſubject, to conſider, on whom the weight of the taxes falls. It is not on the dealer in the particular articles which are the objects of taxation: On the contrary, he raiſes his price higher than the extent of the tax, and becomes a gainer; and, as his profits increaſe, his work-

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men come in for their ſhare, by an increaſe of their wages. It is not the country-labourer, the tradeſman, or the mechanic, who ſuffers any thing by the taxes. He pays, perhaps, a third more for his ſhoes, his ſoap, and his candles, than theſe articles coſt thirty years ago; but his own wages are more than doubled, through the ſame cauſes which occaſion the taxes: He receives twenty pounds for the ſame quantity of work, or of time, which would then have yielded only eight or ten; he is in much better circumſtances upon the whole account, and the change is viſible in his family; his houſe is now neat and comfortable; his wife has her ſugar and tea; his children are better clothed, better fed, and are educated more completely, than he himſelf was, or could be, upon his father's income. Theſe are the very features of a growing National proſperity.

Much leſs, can the taxes be ſaid to fall upon thoſe men who are the operative hands in the various manufactures of this country: They pay, as others do, the increaſed price on many articles, which they buy; but they are ſubſtantial gainers, through the great plan of which the taxes are a part. The market and demand for their goods is rendered even greater than they can anſwer, and their pay is, of courſe, raiſed to a pitch, which, in many inſtances, is, in truth, hurtful to themſelves. It is in theſe ſituations, that the labour of three or four days can ſupport not only the whole neceſſary expences of the week, but even the diſſipation in which the remainder of the time is, unfortunately, too often waſted.

The moſt unaccountable circumſtance, in the ſtate of this country, is, that the moſt thriving towns and villages are the ſcenes of thoſe murmurs which Paine and his clubs have been able to excite, and that the very men on whom wealth is flowing, in conſequence of the political ſyſtem of Britain, and from no other cauſe, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be duped by an hired advocate of miſchief, who laughed in his ſleeve, when he repeated all the popular rant, about mini-

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ſters, and the pride of the great, and taxes, and burdens upon the labourer: Theſe things were not ſaid from ignorance of the real truth of the caſe, but from deliberate malice to this country.

The effect of the taxes has been to raiſe the profits of every profeſſion. They are chiefly paid by the rich: The heavier taxes are laid immediately on the rich, and they relieve the poor of their whole ſhare of the others, as they are the employers of the poor, and muſt advance their payments at or beyond the increaſed price of the neceſſaries which the people muſt buy; and in theſe, all their taxes are included. It is demonſtrable, that no labourer, mechanic, or induſtrious man, in any trade, in this country, loſes one farthing by all the taxes of the nation: For what he pays away in taxes with one hand, he is receiving with the other from his employer, over and above what he would otherwiſe have drawn; he is even receiving more. Taxes are premiums to induſtry---Nay it is impoſſible that taxation can ever bring any burden on the claſſes of perſons now mentioned. Although the taxes ſhould all be doubled or tripled, ſtill the ſame thing would take place; wages and prices of work would inſtantly ſtart to a height correſponding to the prices of neceſſaries; ſociety would reſume its level, and induſtry produce its clear gains as great as ever. The plain ſtate of the caſe is this, that, if we except landholders, and ſuch perſons as live upon fixed annuities, the taxes are, in fact, no burden at all to individuals; they are even the reverſe: For ſo wonderfully is the whole ſyſtem of political œconomy conſtructed and balanced in this happy country, that its taxes have, in a great extent, operated the general diffuſion of wealth, of increaſed profits, and of unexampled proſperity, in all the branches of buſineſs.

There is yet another article in Mr. Paine's account, to be ſettled. The 5th chapter of his ſecond volume is the formal propoſition of a ſcheme ſo unprincipled, as to ſurpaſs any thing that is to be found in the Hiſtory of the Buccaniers of America. It is an advertiſement for general pillage, and for a diviſion, by ſcramble,

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of the revenues of Britain. It is founded upon the ſuppoſition of the peaceful alliance of the French and Britiſh Republics, and of the obedience of all nations to their orders, of diſmantling their ſhips, and diſbanding their armies. When all nations have done, as deſired, of which, it ſeems, there is no doubt, then we are to have no more fleets, or armies, or implements of defence, and the money is to be laid out on a new ſcheme of finance: Which whole ſcheme this agent of the French Jacobin club ſums up in

1. The abolition of two millions of poor-rates.
2. Proviſion for 252,000 poor families.
3. Education for 1,030,000 children.
4. Proviſion for 140,000 aged perſons.
5. Donation, 20 ſhillings each, for 50,000 births.
6. Donation, 20 ſhillings each, for 20,000 marriages.
7. Allowance of 20,000 l. for funeral expences of workmen.
8. Employment for the poor of London and Weſtminſter.

The moſt provoking circumſtance in this plan, is the affront offered to your underſtandings, in the ſuppoſition that any of you were to be taken in by ſuch a ſilly and obvious bubble. He was fiſhing with the fly, but he thought he had ſo muddied the waters, that you would ſwallow it before you ſhould diſcover the hook: He knew that his ſcheme was impracticable in any nation on earth; that Republics, eſpecially, are as deſtitute of charity, as they are of gratitude: That Britons poſſeſs both theſe virtues, under their preſent government; and, particularly, that the relief of indigence, both on ſchemes of public inſtitution, and by that liberal bounty of individuals, which is inſpired by the national felicity, exceeds in this country what has ever elſewhere been known; but he truſted that you would not ſift the matter too nearly, nor trouble him with croſs queſtions. We ſhall, however, hint one or two which might be put.

Who

Who are to take the management of this new poor's rate, formed out of the ruins of the army, and navy, and conſtitution? Fear nothing, good people, thoſe gentlemen of the clubs, who have already made uſe of their *liberty*, to reduce themſelves to *equality*, will ſhew ſufficient prudence and integrity in dividing the ſpoil. And where is all this annual revenue to be procured, when the whole ſprings of wealth, the commerce, and manufactures of Britain are broken in the wrecks of the conſtitution? This difficulty is prudently omitted, becauſe, to have mentioned it, would have ſpoiled the whole ſpeculation.

The pages which Paine has covered with figures, and pretended calculations on this ſcheme, are blotted with matter the moſt flagitious that was ever committed to paper. It is that maſter corruption by which the poor are to be bribed to part with their all, and then to be cheated out of the bribe. It is the devil's bargain (according to the tale of the nurſery), in driving which, he ſhews an heap of gold, as the hire for entering his ſervice; and when the wretch whom he is tempting, is perſuaded to ſign the contract with drops of his own blood, and graſps the treaſure, it falls down in his hands into aſhes and brimſtone.

Thus I take leave of Thomas Paine, and of his works.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

This nation has now, for above an hundred years, enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of public felicity, ſuch as the hiſtory of mankind has no where elſe exhibited. It has riſen to greatneſs by the ſtrength and energy of its conſtitution: a ſyſtem which philoſophy is proud to trace through all its ſprings of operation; where each part is nicely adjuſted to the production of the great object for which it is conſtructed,---the happineſs of the people. Liberty, ſecurity, ſtrength

of character, humanity, learning, wealth and peace, are the bleſſings which it yields to us and ours; and by which, approving Providence has ratified the deed of our anceſtors in the Revolution ſettlement. This great ſyſtem was then finally guarded againſt the encroachments of power, without being arreſted in the progreſs of improvement. We have enjoyed a race of ſovereigns, attached, from principle, to liberty and the laws; and he who now wears the crown of theſe realms, has a claim, which even faction cannot conteſt, to that moſt dignified of all appellations, The Father of his People. His piety to God, his domeſtic virtues, his ſtrict decorum of manners, oblige us to add to our allegiance the tribute of our eſteem; while his reverence for the laws, his proved attachment to the cauſe of freedom, and his inviolable fidelity to the conſtitution, render our loyalty to the monarch the pledge of ſecurity to our rights.

It is one of the excellencies of the Britiſh conſtitution, that it is calculated to form the public character of the Sovereign; to make him love it, to aſſociate inſeparably in his mind the ideas of prerogative and of privilege, inſtead of ever beholding them in contraſt; and to cheriſh in his heart the ſole ambition of leading freemen under the banners of law.

The happy ſtate of man in political ſociety, is under limited monarchy---mixed government---the Britiſh conſtitution.

APPEND-

APPENDIX.

THE death of Louis XVI. will be recorded in the page of hiſtory amongſt thoſe events which furniſh the leſſons of warning againſt the unprincipled ſpirit of a democratical republic. In the ſolitude of his priſon, Louis wrote his laſt will. In peruſing this extraordinary paper, the reader, making allowance for the peculiarities, which are to be referred to the Roman Catholic ſyſtem in which the King had been educated, will trace the workings of a mind which was dignified, firm, and devout; a liberal ſpirit, an affectionate heart, and a good conſcience. It is the ſimple pathetic of nature, diſtinguiſhed by its eſſential characters from the compoſitions of art; it is the eloquence which a good man pours forth, when he ſtands collected in the laſt exigence of life.

TESTAMENT OF LOUIS XVI.

Written by himſelf.

IN the name of the Moſt Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. This 21ſt day of December, 1792, I Louis Sixteenth of the name, King of France, having been now for upwards of four months confined with my family in the Tower of the Temple at Paris, by thoſe who had been my ſubjects: deprived of every communication whatever, even (ſince the 11th of this month) with my own family; and beſides, being involved in a criminal proſecution, of which it is impoſſible, conſidering the paſſions of men, to foreſee the event; for which, no exiſting law can furniſh any pretext or precedent; having no witneſs to my thoughts, no one to whom I may addreſs myſelf but God alone; here in his preſence, do declare my Laſt Will, my laſt ſentiments.

To God, my Creator, I intruſt my ſoul, which I pray him to receive into his mercy, and not to judge me by my own deſervings, but by the merits of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who offered himſelf a ſacrifice to God his Father, for us, how unworthy ſoever; for me, the moſt unworthy. I die in union with the holy Roman Catholic and Apoſtolic Church, whoſe

powers are derived in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. Peter, to whom Chriſt had confided them. I firmly believe, and I profeſs all which is contained in the commandments of God and the Church; in the ſacraments and myſteries, as they are now taught, and ever have been taught by her: I never have pretended to conſtitute myſelf a judge, in the different modes of explaining the dogmas which divide the Church of Chriſt, but have ever ſubmitted, and if God grants me life, will ever ſubmit to the deciſions which my eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors, in union with the Holy Catholic Church, have pronounced, or ſhall pronounce, in conformity with the diſcipline of the Church, followed from the days of Jeſus Chriſt. From my whole heart I compaſſionate thoſe of our brethren who may be in error; but I preſume not to judge them; nor do I the leſs, according to the dictates of Chriſtian charity, love them in Jeſus Chriſt. For my own ſins, I implore pardon of God. I have ſcrupulouſly endeavoured to know them, to deteſt them, and humble myſelf in his preſence. Not being able to obtain the aſſiſtance of a Catholic Prieſt, I pray God to accept the confeſſion which I have made to him of my offences; and above all, my deep penitence for having (though againſt my will) ſubſcribed my name to acts, which may be contrary to the diſcipline or faith of the Catholic Church, to which my heart has ever remained ſincerely united. I pray God to accept my firm reſolution, ſhould he grant me life, to profit as ſoon as poſſible of the miniſtry of a Catholic Prieſt, to accuſe myſelf of all my ſins, and receive the ſacrament of penance; I intreat all thoſe whom I may by inadvertence have offended, (*for I cannot recollect that knowingly I have offended any one*) and all thoſe to whom I may have given occaſion for blame, or bad example, to pardon me the evil which I may have done them.

I entreat all who have charity, to join their prayers with mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my ſins.

From my whole heart I forgive thoſe who without any cauſe given them by me, have become my enemies; and I pray to God to pardon them, as well as thoſe, who through falſe or miſguided zeal have done me much injury.

I recommend to God my wife, my children, my ſiſters, my aunts, my brothers, and all thoſe who are connected with me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatever.

I particularly implore the Almighty to look with an eye of pity on my wife, my children, and my ſiſter, who for a long time have been ſuffering with me; and if they ſhould loſe me, to ſupport them by his grace as long as they remain in this periſhable world. I recommend my children to my wife.

Of

Of her maternal tenderneſs for them I have never doubted; above all, I recommend to her to inſtil into them the true principles of Chriſtianity, and probity; to teach them to look on greatneſs in this life, (if they are condemned to undergo it) as a dangerous and tranſitory advantage, and to fix their eyes on the only true and permanent glories of eternity. I requeſt my ſiſter to be pleaſed to continue her tenderneſs to my children, and to be to them a mother, ſhould they have the misfortune to loſe their own.

I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which ſhe ſuffers on my account, and the uneaſineſs which I may have cauſed her in the courſe of our union; as ſhe may be aſſured that I remember nothing againſt her, if ſhe thinks ſhe has any thing to reproach herſelf with.

I earneſtly recommend to my children next to their duty to God, which they ought to prefer to every thing, to maintain mutual union, ſubmiſſion, and obedience to their mother, and gratitude for all the cares ſhe beſtows on them, for their own ſakes, and in remembrance of me.

I entreat them to conſider my ſiſter as a ſecond mother. I recommend to my ſon, if he ſhould have the misfortune to become king, to remember, that he owes himſelf entirely to the happineſs of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred, and all reſentment, and eſpecially whatever relates to the misfortunes and miſeries which I experience; that he cannot effect the happineſs of the people, but by reigning according to the laws; but, at the ſame time, that a king cannot make the laws reſpected, and do the good which his heart wiſhes, but in proportion as he has the neceſſary authority; and that without this, being fettered in his operations, and inſpiring no reſpect, he is more injurious than uſeful. I recommend to my ſon to take care of all the perſons who have been attached to me, as far as his ſituation ſhall give him the means; to remember that this is a ſacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or relations of thoſe who have died for me, or thoſe who are ruined on my account. I know that there are many of thoſe who are about my perſon, who have not conducted themſelves to me as they ought, and who have even ſhewn me ingratitude; but I forgive them, (often in the moment of trouble and turbulence, a man is not maſter of himſelf;) and I entreat my ſon, if he ſhould have the power to puniſh, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wiſh to be able to teſtify my gratitude to thoſe who have diſplayed a true and diſintereſted attachment to me. If, on the one hand, I was ſenſibly affected by the ingratitude and diſloyalty of perſons to whom I had never acted but with

kindneſs

kindneſs, as well to themſelves, as to their relations or friends; on the other, I have had the conſolation of ſeeing the voluntary attachment and intereſt which many perſons have ſhewn to me. I entreat them to accept of my thanks; in the ſituation in which things ſtill are, I ſhould be afraid of bringing them into danger were I to ſpeak more explicitly; but I recommend particularly to my ſon to ſeek every opportunity of acknowledging them.

I ſhould, however, conceive that I did injuſtice to the ſentiments of the nation, if I did not openly recommend to my ſon M. M. de Chamilly and Hue: who were induced by their ſincere attachment to ſhut themſelves up with me in this mournful abode, at the riſk of becoming the unhappy victims of that attachment. I alſo recommend to him Cleri, with whoſe attention I have had every reaſon to be ſatisfied ſince he has been with me. As it is he, who has remained with me to the laſt, I requeſt M. M. of the Commune to deliver him my clothes, my books, my watch, my purſe, and the other little effects which have been depoſited at the Council de Commune.

I alſo moſt willingly forgive thoſe who guarded me the ill-treatment and harſhneſs, which they thought it their duty to uſe towards me. I have found ſome feeling and compaſſionate ſouls; may they enjoy the heart-felt tranquillity which muſt ariſe from their feelings.

I entreat M. M. de Maleſherbes, Tronchet, and Deſeze, to receive here my utmoſt thanks, and the aſſurance of my ſenſibility, for all the care, and all the pains, which they took for me.

I conclude by declaring, before God, and ready to appear in his preſence, that I do not reproach myſelf with any of the crimes which are alledged againſt me.

Done in duplicate, at the Tower of the Temple,
December 25. 1792.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(A true copy.)
BAUDRAIS, Municipal Officer.

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